California Journal
Analysis of State Government and Politics
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ELECTION '84:
Results and Analysis

THERE'S GOLD IN THEM THAR CAMPAIGNS

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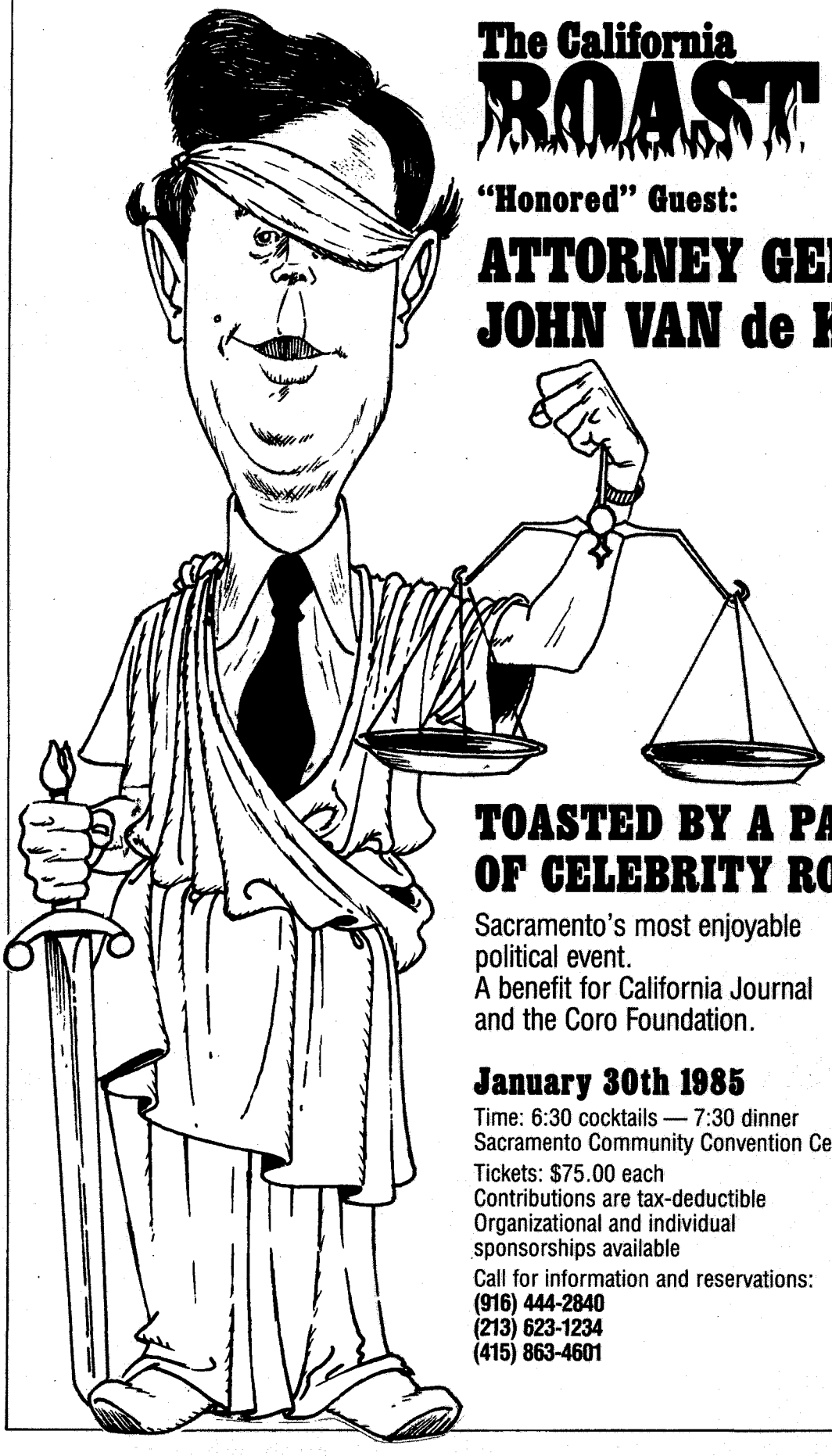

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California Journal

The Monthly Analysis of State Government and Politics

Volume XV, Number 12 **December 1984**

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CALIFORNIA JOURNAL is a non-partisan, non-ideological analysis of California government and politics established in 1970 and published monthly by The California Center, a non-profit, public-benefit corporation.

California Journal (ISSN 00081205) is published monthly. Subscription rates: Libraries and Government Agencies, $35; Corporations and Associations, $75; Special Individual Rate, $22. Address all inquiries to California Journal, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, California 95814. Telephone (916) 444-2840.

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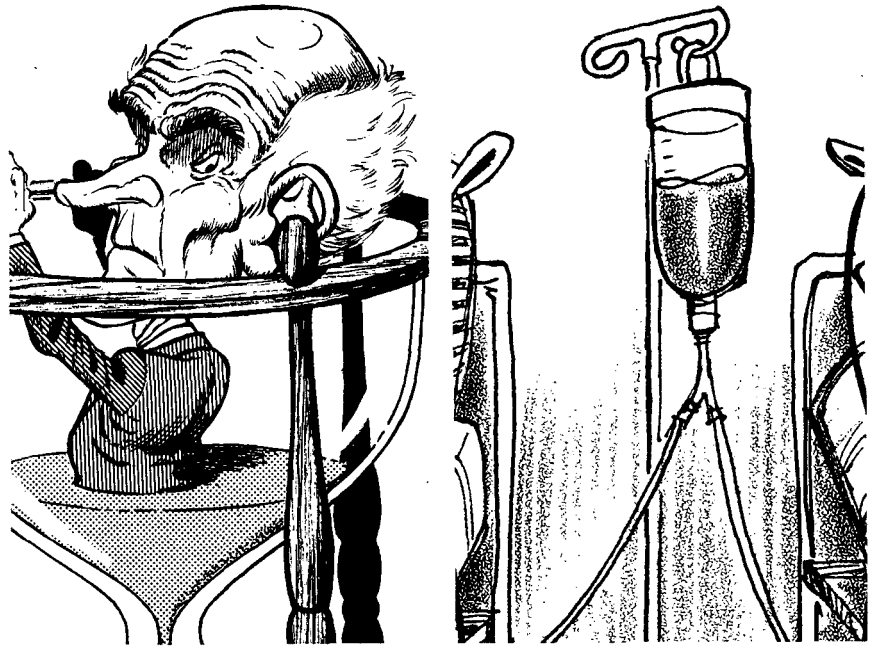

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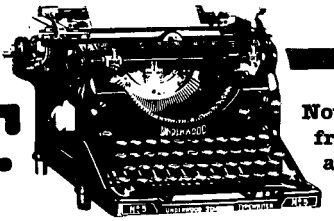
UP FRONT



Notes and Items from Contributors and the Journal Staff.

Pat Nolan, the new Republican leader in the lower House, has named Bill Saracino as his chief of staff. Saracino, 35, has been associated with Republican Senator Bill Richardson for more than seven years, serving as executive director of Richardson's Gunowners of California. Before that, Saracino says, he had a political experience that prepared him for anything — working for controversial Los Angeles City Councilman Art Snyder. Next in line on the Nolan staff is Jim Dutra, communications director. Fresh from the '84 campaigns, in which he worked for Reagan-Bush and Governor Deukmejian's Proposition 39, Dutra, 34, previously published *Viewpoint*, a Republican-oriented monthly in newsprint format which he hopes to restart someday in slicker form.

Not surprisingly, the Nolan victory also caused heads to roll on the Republican caucus staff. Although no one denied that the new leadership should have its own crew, there was resentment among the losers at the abrupt manner in which they were booted forth. Staff director Dick Swayne could have stayed, but with a demotion, so he resigned. Among those reported to have been fired outright were deputy staff director Mike Neal, policy director Tony Quinn and policy consultant Donna Kingwell.

A number of persons are warning lawmakers that the defeat of Governor Deukmejian's reapportionment initiative should not end discussion of reapportionment reform. They note that a failure to act could be used as ammunition by Paul Gann, for instance, for even more radical changes. One proposal would increase by five the number of state senate districts to match — boundary-by-boundary — the 45 seats in California's congressional delegation. Each Senate district would then be divided into two Assembly districts — thus increasing the Assembly's membership from 80 to 90. If the districts were then required to generally follow existing city and county lines, the likelihood of outrageous gerrymanders would be removed. The idea was laid out most recently in a *Sacramento Bee* article by Robert Gnaizda, a public-interest attorney in San Francisco, and Harry Snyder, west coast director for Consumers Union. Former Assembly Speaker Bob Monagan, who is now heading the state's Economic Development Corporation, is also in support.

During the Contra Costa County supervisorial race, candidate Len Battaglia told opponent Nancy Fahden in front of a large crowd that she should "go back to the kitchen." Contra Costa women were outraged, and Battaglia tried to make amends. He handed out copies of his spaghetti sauce recipe that carried, along with the list of ingredients, a description of him as "a man proud to be in the kitchen." But though the recipe looked interesting (it included ground carrots), Fahden won.

(Maria E. Protti, Orinda)

Having had its sheriff, Robbie Waters, convicted recently of drunk driving, Sacramento County seems to have developed a taste for notoriety. On November 14th Superior Court Judge Benjamin Diaz was convicted of soliciting and engaging in an act of prostitution. While his lawyers were in municipal court hearing their client sentenced to probation and a $265 fine, Diaz was upstairs in his courtroom, continuing to preside over other people's trials. Sheriff Waters, who was punished with a fine and two days in a service program (repairing toys), also remains on the job.

John Zierold, Capitol lobbyist for the Sierra Club, retired in October after 20 years of arm-twisting for environmental reform. An aspiring writer, he says he's always believed that a good novel could be written about the world's hunger problem. His working title is "Table Stakes."

If the Department of Finance seems more elegant than the average bureaucratic workshop, thank Ed Beach, a former assistant director who retired a few years ago. It was he, we have just learned, who rescued 19 Edwin Deakin oil paintings from a museum basement and displayed them on Finance's walls. Deakin was a turn-of-the-century California artist, and his daughter left these paintings to the state in 1947.

Capitol lobbyist Bill Hemby, who recently returned from a motor tour of the Balkans, was stopped in Prague for making an illegal left turn, pulled over in Romania for speeding into a small town and stopped again in Bulgaria for passing two police cars on a narrow mountain road. Hemby, a retired San Francisco cop who lobbies for COPS (the California Organization of Police and Sheriffs), concedes a "less-than-exemplary" driving record. It was, he says, those two-lane roads with their big trucks, little cars, donkey carts, geese and chickens.

Everyone is familiar with those well-publicized bets between politicans from different states over whose professional baseball or football team is going to win the World Series, the Superbowl or some other such event. The loser usually sends the winner a case, carton or bag of some well-known product from his or her state. Usually, it's all done for publicity and nobody cares who wins or loses. But in Pete Wilson, California may have a U.S. Senator who actually figures the odds. When the San Diego Padres went against the Chicago Cubs in the National League playoffs last October, Wilson — the former mayor of San Diego — bet Illinois Senator Charles Percy a case of California wine against a rib dinner that the Padres would win. Which, of course, they did. But when the Padres went against the more heavily favored Detroit Tigers in the World Series, the crush of Senate business, it is said, prevented Wilson from making any bets. And, of course, Detroit won in five.

(Steven Pressman, Washington)

The state Senate's Fellowship Program, created in 1972 to give selected students hands-on training in politics and government, was to have been discontinued as part of a legislative belt-tightening required by the Gann initiative of last June. But the word is that the program will survive, mostly because Cal State University, Sacramento, has agreed to pick up $98,000 of the program's $140,000 annual cost. Senate spokesman John Hendricks says there will be changes in the program and only nine fellows this year instead of 12. The Assembly operates a smiliar program, but there was never any serious talk there of discontinuance.

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According to statisticians, the U.S. population is aging rapidly. Nevertheless, we believe it's a little early for the American Association of Retired Persons to be recruiting Noah Shapiro of Sacramento (pictured below). Noah's father,

Michael Shapiro, a Senate staffer, says the letter asked Noah to join the association, promised him a subscription to *Modern Maturity* magazine, discounts on prescription drugs and membership in a group that has been leading the fight against cuts in Social Security.

Two top reporters in the *Los Angeles Times* Capitol bureau will be moving to Los Angeles shortly, John Balzar to become a political writer and Tracy Wood to general assignment. But bureau chief Bill Endicott declares that his 10-member reporting empire will not be diminished. Not only will there be replacements, he says, but he wants more.

Bakersfield Mayor Mary Shell got a little help in her successful campaign for Kern County supervisor from a former Brownie — B. T. Collins. Shell called for Collins after opponent Richard Ybarra, son-in-law of Cesar Chavez, brought in another former official in the Brown administration, Assemblyman Gray Davis, to help him. Davis, who was Brown's chief of staff, contended that Ybarra, once a deputy director of the California Conservation Corps, was largely responsible for the corps' success. Collins, the corps' former director, said it was his doing. Collins, now in the bond-underwriting business, said he won the argument because he's better looking than Davis.

(Rosalie Fox, Bakersfield)

In an article last month about the Gann initiative, we put former Assembly Republican leader Bob Naylor on the wrong side in a controversial vote. We said he supported a Democratic-sponsored rule change last August to bring the lower House into closer conformity with Gann's requirements. Actually, he opposed. His successor as minority leader, Pat Nolan, supported the change.

Ralph Morrell, the scourge of the Legislature, is after Republican Senate leader Jim Nielsen again, this time contending that Nielsen is not really the true believer in the Gann initiative that Nielsen now portrays himself to be. Nielsen's people say it really isn't so. What makes this worth mentioning is Morrell's fearsome dedication. A retired naval person who has made a second career of seeking tighter controls over state money that the Legislature spends on itself, Morrell decided several years ago that Nielsen is blocking progress on that issue and is therefore one of the bad guys. Thus, he watches Nielsen like a hawk and fires off letters to many editors whenever it appears to him that Nielsen has stepped out of line. We know that this is the way our government is supposed to work, but what would happen to progress at the Capitol if every citizen got so deeply involved?

Morrell also has been campaigning over the years to abolish vote-switching, a practice that allows members of the Legislature to deceive constituents and others about their true stand on issues. It happens when a lawmaker votes one way on a bill and then, after the roll call is completed, switches his vote to the other side. Thus, the final record will show him as, for instance, supporting a bill that he may actually have opposed. The practice is allowed so long as the switch doesn't change the fate of the bill; that is, whether the measure passes or fails. Theoretically, vote-switching can occur in either house, but its use is much more frequent in the Assembly. Morrell's big problem, he says, is that most organizations that report on legislative roll calls give only the final version and do not record switches. (One notable exception is the state Chamber of Commerce whose annual listing of voting records on key bills includes all switches.) As a result, the public is not regularly made aware of the switches that go on. As a magazine that reports legislative votes, we agree with Morrell and plan to report vote switches in our "Roll Call" section during future legislative sessions. But there is more. Morrell believes that lawmakers who do not vote during an initial roll call but add their votes later also should be listed as vote-switchers. Technically, he is correct: They are switching from "not voting" to either "aye" or "no." Furthermore, since every bill in the Assembly needs a minimum of 41 votes — a simple majority — for passage, an abstention in effect helps kill the bill. Thus, a lawmaker may help kill a bill by abstaining and then deceive the public into believing he was a supporter by voting "aye" later. However, there are innocent add-ons, too. For instance, a member may be out of the chamber, perhaps at a committee hearing, when the roll is called; or a member may have questions about a bill that cannot be answered before the roll is called. In other words, the fact that a lawmaker voted late on a measure may or may not have great significance. Nevertheless, we would like to report add-ons with other vote-switches but doing so would require additional person-power that we, at this point, don't have. The reason is that the Assembly records add-ons in a way that doesn't lend itself to easy reporting. Much poring through records must be done. As a result, we won't be reporting add-ons for a while, unless maybe Mr. Morrell would like to give us a hand.

If a nation expects to be ignorant and free . . . it expects what never was and never will be.

— Thomas Jefferson

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front," so rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento 95814.*

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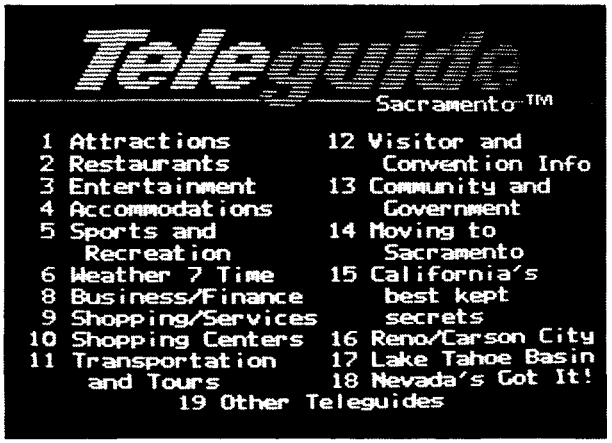

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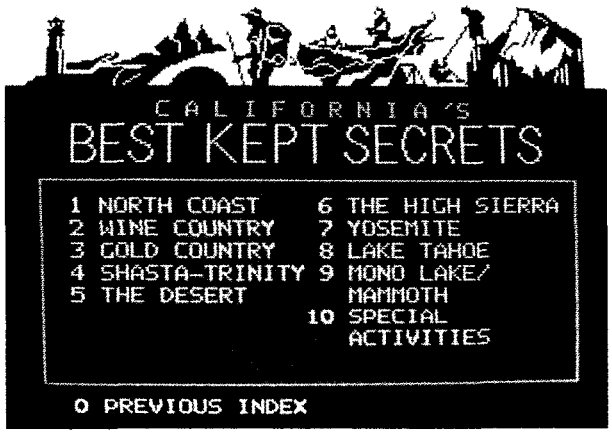

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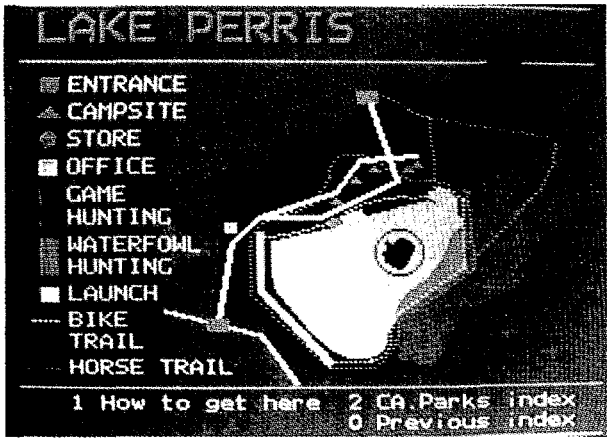

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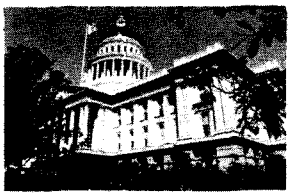

Capitol review

Governor George Deukmejian says he wasn't injured when voters blew away his cherished reapportionment initiative on November 6th. Disappointed, yes. But personally embarassed, no. As he told a news conference in Los Angeles November 7th, all he did was provide leadership "for a much needed debate on full reform."

So far as the general public is concerned, the governor probably is right. Reapportionment (the word itself is dull) is not an issue to arouse intense public interest for any length of time — if at all. The fact that Deukmejian proposed a new way of doing it, and was rejected, may have been forgotten already by a majority of citizens. "It's history and will have absolutely no lasting impact on the governor's popularity," says Deukmejian's press secretary, Larry Thomas.

But things are different at the Capitol. There, when the governor loses a big one, memories and consequences may remain for some time. Nor should there be any doubt that the defeat of Proposition 39 was anything but a major loss for Deukmejian himself. Before the election, press secretary Thomas put it this way to the *Los Angeles Times:* "We have hardly hidden from the fact that the initiative is something he thinks of monumental importance to the very structure of government in California. Nor have we disputed that it was developed and qualified for the ballot under his leadership."

Why so important? Largely because Deukmejian and his top people believe that his Republican administration generally represents the popular will in California and that it is being thwarted by misuses of power in the Legislature and the courts. As they see it, the courts will be converted from judicial activism to impartiality as a continuing stream of gubernatorial appointees take their places on the bench. (The main event here will occur in 1986 when Chief Justice Rose Bird goes before voters again.)

But the Legislature is something else. There, time and continuing elections will not necessarily bring down the Democratic majority that stands in the way of the governor's version of what the people want. Thanks to the Legislature's power to redistrict itself, Democrats might gerrymander their way into majorities for decades to come.

Actually, it is the size of the Democratic majorities that hinders Deukmejian. If Republicans could pick up only a few more seats, they — combined with a few conservative Democrats — could push many of his programs through.

Thus, the administration's solution was to take reapportionment power from the Legislature and give it to a panel of retired judges, as Proposition 39 would have done. With the judges drawing districts that were less safe for incumbents, candidates would heed the electorate more carefully, and the governor's programs would be approved.

But, of course, voters refused to go along. The Capitol consensus seems to be that the Deukmejian administration lost not so much on the merits of the issue as it did to the superior Democratic campaign managed by Michael Berman, Carl D'Agostino and their Los Angeles political-consulting firm. Berman and D'Agostino were off to an early start and made good use of television commercials featuring actors Jack Lemmon and Jack Klugman. Administration forces don't seriously argue the point, but they also contend (with some justice) that the opposition campaign featured blatantly misleading — if not downright untrue — statements.

Deukmejian's campaign managers were Sal Russo and Doug Watts, the relatively youthful political consultants who stepped in at the last moment in 1982 to help him win his gubernatorial campaign. In addition to reapportionment, they were working on the Reagan-Bush presidential campaign.

In any case, the governor lost a big one and there could be effects at the Capitol for sometime. Some contend that nothing will change. The governor still has his authority to sign or veto bills, make appointments, propose a budget and do everything else that makes him the most powerful politician in the state. Democrats will fight him as before and will win or lose according to the issues involved.

However, that seems unlikely given the importance of the reapportionment fight. What seems more likely is that Democrats during the coming session — having won such a big victory — will feel a lot more secure in their jobs than they have felt in recent years. From perhaps as far back as the passage of Proposition 13 in 1978, Democrats in the Legislature have been looking fearfully over their shoulders at the conservative-populist tide running in the state. A year before Deukmejian's took office, for instance, they were budget-cutting as fiercely as any conservative could wish, while beating their breasts in anguish at every step of the way.

The lowest point for legislative Democrats may have been the period just before voters approved Proposition 24 last June. Although the ballot measure was aimed directly at reducing their power, they were such believers in their own unpopularity with voters that they decided it would be better to lie low in the election than wage a fight.

Now, though, they've been through a battle with the conservative governor and have won. Thus, in a post-election talk here recently with legislators from other states, Senate President pro Tem David Roberti vowed that nothing like the Proposition 24 experience will happen again. According to Roberti, Democrats will not be misled again (by the press, he said) into believing that they lack popular support. If challenged, he indicated, they will fight.

This could mean more feistiness on the Democratic side and bigger battles than ever with Governor Deukmejian. However, personal security may also bring a relaxation of the suspicion and fear that frequently generate confrontation. Who knows? Maybe there will be as much harmony as dispute during the coming session.

Robert Fairbanks

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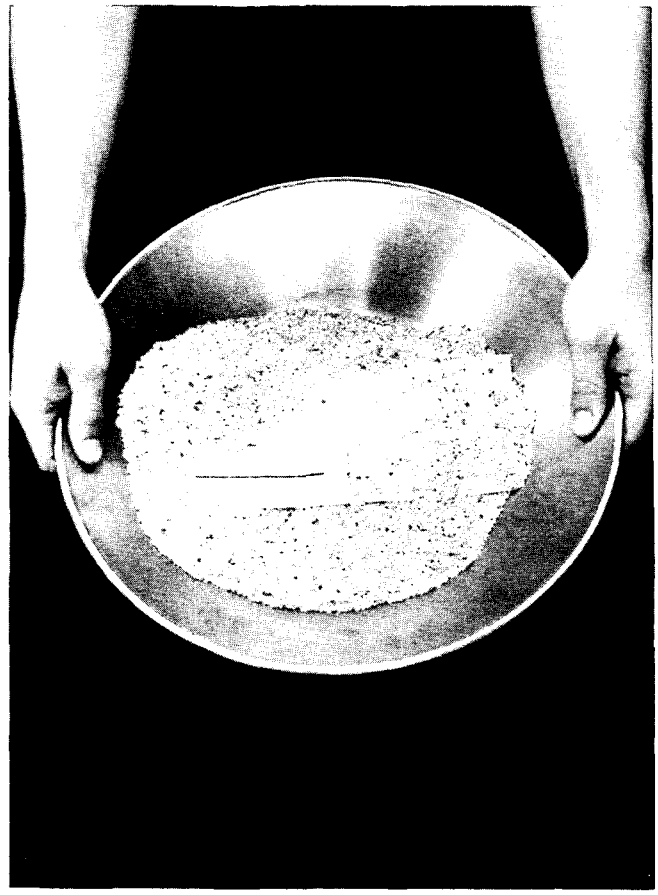
THERE'S GOLD IN THEM THAR CAMPAIGNS

By ROBERT FAIRBANKS and MARTIN SMITH

It will never rank with James Marshall's discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill, and chances are that nobody will ever make a movie about it. But it should be recorded in somebody's history of California nonetheless: that epic moment in 1978 when Bill Butcher and Stu Mollrich discovered that you can make money by qualifying an initiative for the ballot.



In a sense, professional signature-gatherers have been profiting from the qualification process for years. Give them enough money and they will get enough signatures from enough registered voters to put anybody's initiative on the ballot.

But according to Butcher and Mollrich, their discovery was something else. Essentially, they found that people who will sign petitions to put an initiative on the ballot also will give money for the cause. All you have to do is ask for it. Thus, you not only qualify your measure for the ballot but turn a profit besides.

This feat, however, cannot be performed from behind card tables or ironing boards set up at shopping malls and street corners to ask for nickels, dimes and signatures from whoever is passing by. To vastly increase the odds of success, you must make your pitch only to those persons who are most likely to be in sympathy with whatever initiative you have at hand. In other words, success in this endeavor also depends on the expert use of targeted, direct mail. However, the key idea — simultaneously asking for money and signatures — remains.

Like the hula hoop, the pet rock and other such marvels of our times, this innovation may not seem like much — at first. But think for a moment of what these two men (and they swear they were first) have wrought. Before they came along, there were only two ways to qualify an initiative for the ballot: You could hire one of the aforementioned professional signature-gatherers, who would send forth legions of students and others to work the aforementioned shopping malls, or you could build an organization of volunteers to do the same thing.

But hiring a professional signature-gatherer could cost $500,000 or more. And building an organization capable of collecting 400,000 to one million signatures (the range needed for statutory and constitutional amendment initiatives) could take years. In short, before Butcher and Mollrich came along, the process of qualifying an initiative for the ballot required an enormous up-front investment of money and/or time.

History shows that there has been no shortage of individuals, corporations or volunteer organizations willing and able to make that investment. However, many others have not been able to afford it. But now that the process can be made economically self-supporting, armies of newcomers can give it a try. Theoretically, we are at the point at which virtually any citizen with a mailing list and a few dollars for postage may take a whack at the law of the land.

In fact, the citizen may need nothing at all. If some entrepreneur in the business of politics and direct-mail believes that the citizen's idea for an initiative would appeal to some particular group (political conservatives, for instance), then the entrepreneur may finance a test mailing. If signatures and contributions come rolling in, then the money will be used to finance a bigger mailing and still bigger ones after that. Eventually, the citizen's initiative will qualify for the ballot and the entrepreneur — through fees, commissions and charges — will have made a nice bundle.

And that is exactly what has been happening with increasing frequency over recent years. Since 1978 at least a half-dozen prominent initiatives have been qualified in whole or part by gathering signatures and money through the mails. Of the six initiatives on last month's ballot, two were qualified almost entirely through the mails: Proposition 36, the "Save 13" proposal from Howard Jarvis; and Proposition 41, the welfare-reduction proposal from Republican Assemblyman Ross Johnson of La Habra.

That both of these measures were rejected by voters on

Martin Smith is a political columnist for The Sacramento Bee. *Robert Fairbanks is editor of the* Journal.

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November 6th is — in this context — irrelevant. The point is that the qualification process produced a satisfactory return for the entrepreneurs and was therefore a success. Thus, even as Proposition 36 was going down to defeat, Jarvis could tell reporters: "I've been beaten before. I'm not crying. I'll just have to put some grease on the wheels and start again."

The entrepreneurs behind both Propositions 36 and 41 were Butcher and his partner Arnold Forde, who run a political consulting and direct mail firm in Newport Beach (see "Darth Vaders of direct mail," *CJ*, November 1982). Butcher says the firm receives "many inquiries" each week from persons who want it to promote an initiative and is always looking for ideas that will "work." If he and his partner decide to back a particular measure, he adds, the client will not be asked for funds.

Butcher is vague concerning costs of test mailings and potential profits. But he says that his firm might invest up to $100,000 in the testing of an initiative idea. Such an amount suggests that potential profits are large (see box).

Republican Senator H. L. Richardson of Glendora, the state's most prominent money-raiser for conservative causes and himself the owner of a political-mail firm, once objected to test mailings. It's unfair, he said, to ask "some little old lady" for a contribution to support an initiative proposal that may go no further than the test.

Butcher replies that recipients are told in test letters that a full-blown campaign to qualify the initiative is not yet confirmed. "The warning," he says, "is clear." In some cases, he says, recipients are promised refunds if the proposal is abandoned. "And we have done that (given refunds) on occasion," he adds.

Jarvis

Butcher's most prominent client right now is Jarvis, the curmudgeonly co-author of 1978's Proposition 13. According to Butcher, his firm — using direct-mail requests for money and signatures — has handled all three of Jarvis' tax-reduction initiatives since 1978.

Jarvis' three measures were Proposition 9 of 1980 to cut the income tax in half, which voters disapproved; Proposition 7 of 1982 to index the income tax, which they approved; and, of course, last month's unsuccessful Proposition 36.

By law, signature gathering must be completed within 150 days. Thus, if the deadline nears and the flow of signatures seems skimpy, Butcher-Forde may hire a professional signature-gatherer to bring in the final batch of names. This year, the F.G. Kimball Co. of Westlake Village brought in about 50,000 signatures to put Proposition 41 over the top. The measure, a statutory initiative, needed 393,835 valid signatures and qualified with only about 2500 to spare. Butcher also used Kimball to help with Jarvis' Proposition 36. But in that case, Kimball's additional 75,000 names turned out to be unnecessary. By deadline time, the mail campaign had produced slightly more than one million signatures. The initiative, a constitutional amendment, needed only 630,136.

Not all Butcher-Forde promotions have been successful. Butcher says their failures include a proposed initiative to create a voucher system for public education (under which parents would receive vouchers from the state to finance their childrens' educations at the public or private schools of their choice). Another failure was the firm's direct-mail effort to raise signatures and money, not for an initiative but for the recall of Chief Justice Rose Bird.

Paul Gann, who co-authored Proposition 13 with Jarvis back in 1978, has a volunteer organization, "People's Advocate," to gather signatures for the successful initiatives he has since proposed. However, he also uses direct mail to collect money and signatures, and did so most recently to help qualify Proposition 24, the legislative-reform measure that voters approved last June. (The initiative, aimed largely at curbing the powers of Assembly Speaker Willie Brown and the Assembly's Democratic majority, remains in a legal limbo as Democrats refuse to put it into effect and Gann seeks their compliance in court.)

Ted Costa, Gann's top assistant, says that there were two Gann-sponsored mailings in behalf of Proposition 24. The first cost $190,000 and went to some 1.25 million persons. It produced, he says, 125,000 signatures and about 30,000 contributions — averaging $10 each — for a net gain of $110,000. Costa says the "profit" was ploughed back into the campaign, much of it going into a second mailing that was smaller and far less effective.

In any case, and regardless of who is using the mails today, the signature-donation technique has made the initiative process more available to more people than ever before and is clearly contributing to an explosive growth in the number of initiative petitions circulated during recent years. And as long as voters continue to send money with their signatures, there will be more and more of what Jarvis, Gann and others are doing and the ballot will become — even more than it is today — the place where California's major legislating gets done.

So who started all this? Re-enter now Butcher and Mollrich. The year, as mentioned, was 1978 and the Butcher-Forde firm was doing some political consulting and direct-mail fund-raising for John Briggs, a Republican state senator from Orange County who was running for governor at the time. Mollrich, formerly a member of Briggs' legislative staff, was — like Butcher — working for the Briggs gubernatorial campaign. Briggs, now a Sacramento lobbyist, was not well known statewide but believed that he could generate attention for himself by sponsoring a pair of initiative campaigns.

Briggs' first initiative was aimed at banning homosex-

A record $2.2 million

By GREG BERARDI

The Fair Political Practices Commission says it's a record: the $2.2 million spent by Howard Jarvis and his "Save 13" Committee to qualify Proposition 36 for the November 1984 ballot. In a report issued last August, the FPPC said that no one had spent that much since 1976 when such figures began to be kept. According to the report, about one-third of the money — more than $700,000 — went to Butcher-Forde for professional management and consulting services.

In an interview later, Bill Butcher told the *Journal* that about $800,000 came to his firm during the two-year period that was required to prepare Proposition 36 and qualify it for the ballot. The firm spent about half the money, he indicated, for postage and various outside services. "Our total earnings on that was about $400,000 over two years," he said.

The FPPC report showed that Butcher's firm, known now as "BFC Direct Marketing," raised about $2.1 million in contributions during the qualification period, which ended last April. Butcher said the average contribution was $8.

Greg Berardi is a reporter for the Fairfield Daily Republic.

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uals from teaching in public schools. In Florida, it had proved to be a hot issue which won national attention for anti-gay activist Anita Bryant. Modeling his proposal after hers, he qualified it for the ballot by using both volunteers (from fundamentalist Christian churches) and professional signature gatherers. (The initiative was later defeated by voters.)

But qualifying his second initiative proposal — to expand use of the death penalty — was a problem. Although polls showed that voters wanted tough death-penalty laws, a tougher death-penalty statute (authored by state Senator George Deukmejian) had just been enacted over Governor Jerry Brown's veto. Thus, the edge had been taken off the issue. Also, there was no network of volunteers to gather signatures, and Briggs lacked money to pay for the task.

What to do? Briggs says the idea to gather signatures through the mails evolved at a staff meeting. However, the idea itself had relatively little value. The question was: Could the process be made to work? Using the mails to raise money for political causes had been going on for years, but would mail recipients even sign initiative petitions? If so, would they sign in the proper places, return the forms promptly and include money as well? No one could be sure. Mollrich wasn't even sure that the process — circulating initiative petitions through the mails — was legal. (Research showed that it was.)

In any case, Mollrich was assigned to work full-time with Butcher on the new idea. As he recalls, he and Butcher broke the state's voters into 20 demographic groups (according to age, party affiliation, income, etc.) and in early 1978 sent test mailings of about 5000 pieces to each group. There was nothing to do then but wait.

Mollrich, now a campaign consultant in Los Angeles, recalls that Butcher received daily reports on the results of the mailings and recorded them in a large blue ledger that sat on one corner of his desk. For about a week after the mailings began to be received in households around the state, there was nothing to put in the book. But by the end of the second week, Mollrich says, the numbers began to appear and it was clear that the test was a success. Not only were valid signatures coming in, but there was enough money to pay for the tests (about $30,000, Mollrich recalls) and to finance additional mailings as well. "It was a stunning discovery," says Butcher now.

Mollrich's recollection of the overall figures is hazy, but he says the Briggs' campaign eventually mailed about 1.5 million pieces of mail, collected more than 400,000 signatures and about $300,000 in contributions. He says the effort broke even financially; that is, the campaign raised enough money to cover all costs, including the Butcher-Forde fees, but had no profit for itself.

There might have been a profit, he indicated, had he known back then that a tax-exempt organization could have been created to mail the letters for 3.5 cents each. Instead, the campign paid the regular, 15-cent postage for its mail, he says.

(The initiative eventually qualified for the ballot and was approved by voters in November 1978 by a margin of better than two-to-one.)

A new era

In any case, the new era in California politics had begun and the use of mails to collect signatures and money became ever more frequent with time. In addition to the users mentioned above — Jarvis, Gann and Johnson — there is the Republican Party, which in 1981 gathered 900,000 signatures and about $800,000 in just 60 days in an attempt to overturn legislative and congressional reapportionments that the Legislature's Democratic majority had done.

(The effort qualified referenda that appeared on the bal-

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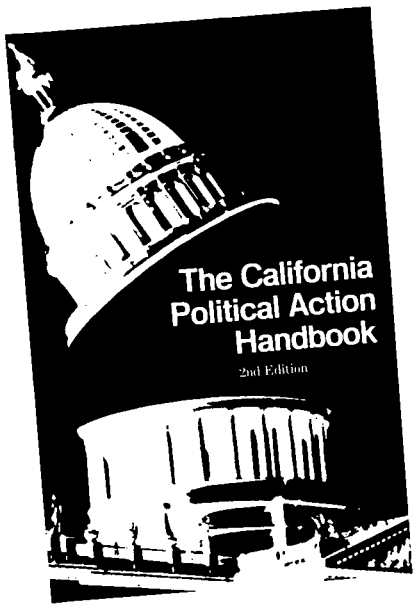

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lot in June 1982. As Republicans wished, voters rejected the Democrats' reapportionment bills, but in November voters also rejected the Republican-Common Cause initiative that would have created a citizens' commission to take over the reapportionment job.)

Another user was Republican Assemblyman Don Rogers of Bakersfield, sponsor of an initiative to reduce the inheritance tax. Rogers initially tried to qualify the measure through a volunteer organization that he had built. But the effort was slow and costly (Rogers' campaign manager was forced to mortgage his home at one point), causing Rogers to try the direct-mail route.

The firm he chose was Computer Caging — the Sacramento-based, political-mail organization owned by Senator Richardson. (In direct-mail jargon, "caging" is the process of opening incoming mail, removing contributions and/or signatures and recording information about the donors.) The firm not only collected enough signatures to qualify Rogers' measure but received enough contributions from conservative voters on its mailing lists to pay for the mailing and retire Rogers' debts. (The initiative appeared as Proposition 6 on the June 1982 ballot and was approved by a margin of nearly two-to-one.)

Although the object of all these direct-mail campaigns was to qualify measures for the ballot, several persons in the business have noted that the campaigns have another value as well. When the campaign is over, the initiative sponsor has a list of persons who gave signatures and/or money and therefore now have a stake in seeing that the measure becomes law. Thus, the sponsor has an excellent mailing list for soliciting funds and/or volunteers to work for the initiative during the election campaign. "They're good supporters," commented political consultant Jack S. McDowell.

(State law says you can't take names from initiative petitions and put them on a mailing list. However, the sponsor knows who received an initiative petition and who returned one and can use that information to prepare mailing lists.)

In theory, the initiative process is a political tool that should work as well for Democrats as Republicans. But when direct-mail solicitations are involved, it seems to work much better on issues dearer to the GOP. "Mail sent to Republican households draws twice as much response as that sent to Democratic households. That's a fact of life you'd better not ignore if you want to remain in the business," says Wayne Johnson, a former manager of Richardson's firm, who now operates a direct-mail firm of his own.

Richardson agrees, saying that Republican recipients are more likely to have the "economic capability" to make a contribution. Mollrich adds that much depends on the issue involved but that there appears to be more "intensity of feeling" on the conservative side.

Thus, it appears that the odds favor direct-mail success for a Republican-oriented or politically conservative type of initiative. However, there is no guarantee that every one — or even most — will succeed. For example, Republican Assemblyman Don Sebastiani of Sonoma originally sought to qualify his controversial reapportionment initiative of last year through the mails but could collect only 200,000 of the 700,000 signatures he wanted. The other names were collected by paid petition-circulators. Interviews indicate that Sebastiani's mail campaign failed for several reasons, perhaps led by the fact that the reapportionment issue itself is complicated and the conflicts around it are not always understood. "The simplicity wasn't there," Johnson says.

Be that as it may, initiative proposals with a conservative orientation appear to do relatively well in the mails, and — not surprisingly — many Democrats are not pleased. But based on happenings during the 1984 legislative session, the process will be difficult to change.

Most of the legislative action centered on a proposed constitutional amendment (SCA44) introduced by Democratic Senator Joseph Montoya of North Whittier and co-authored by Senate President pro Tem David Roberti. Among other things, the measure would have allowed the Legislature to override initiative statutes and would have required that petition signers — as a group — be representative of both political parties, one-third Democratic and one-third Republican.

According to Montoya, the initiative is no longer the people's sword of direct democracy that Hiram Johnson and the Progessives had in mind when California voters added it to the state Constitution in 1911. Instead, he said, it has become a tool of the special interests it was designed to defend against and a money machine for political consulting firms that specialize in computerized direct-mail and signature gathering.

Roberti said much the same thing. "I think the initiative has gone too far, to the point where people with the most money or the best mail-order system can get a measure on the ballot, a right that others don't have," he declared.

A quick death

Montoya introduced his measure last January but it died quickly under an avalanche of opposition newspaper editorials and protest letters generated by a direct-mail campaign. According to the *San Francisco Examiner*, the mailer — from Senate Republicans and signed by GOP Senate leader Jim Nielsen of Woodland — declared that Montoya's proposed amendment would "destroy the initiative process." Additionally, it asked voters to sign petitions, write letters and send money to help defeat the measure.

Some saw a chance for modest change in a bill by Democratic Assemblyman Richard Robinson of Santa Ana (AB780) which aimed at discouraging frivolous initiative campaigns. The bill would have raised the initiative filing-fee from $200 to $1000, but the fee would have been refunded if the measure qualified for the ballot. If the sponsors got at least 25,000 signatures they would have received an $800 return.

But even though the measure drew support from many Republicans, including Richardson and Ross Johnson, Governor George Deukmejian vetoed it April 5th. In his veto message, the governor declared that the bill would have had a "chilling effect . . . on those who seek redress through use of the initiative."

In response to criticism from Democrats and others, Butcher contends that using direct mail to qualify an initiative, instead of being a corrupting influence, has actually created the direct democracy that Johnson and the Progressives envisioned. Because big money for professional signature-collectors and/or big volunteer organizations is no longer required, he says, "This process gives the little people a chance."

What Democrats should do, Butcher says, is join the parade. "There are environmental issues, and there are some education-related issues that could be developed. There are also a couple of tax issues that could be dynamite for them," he explains.

Because direct mail allows more persons to use the initiative process than before (though their "littleness" is in doubt) it does make democracy more direct. But there is a twist: the creation of entrepreneurs like Butcher and Forde whose livelihoods depend on identifying, spotlighting and perhaps even generating enough dissatisfaction with government to make their initiatives saleable. It's direct democracy, all right, but with professional cheerleaders (or agitators) on the side.

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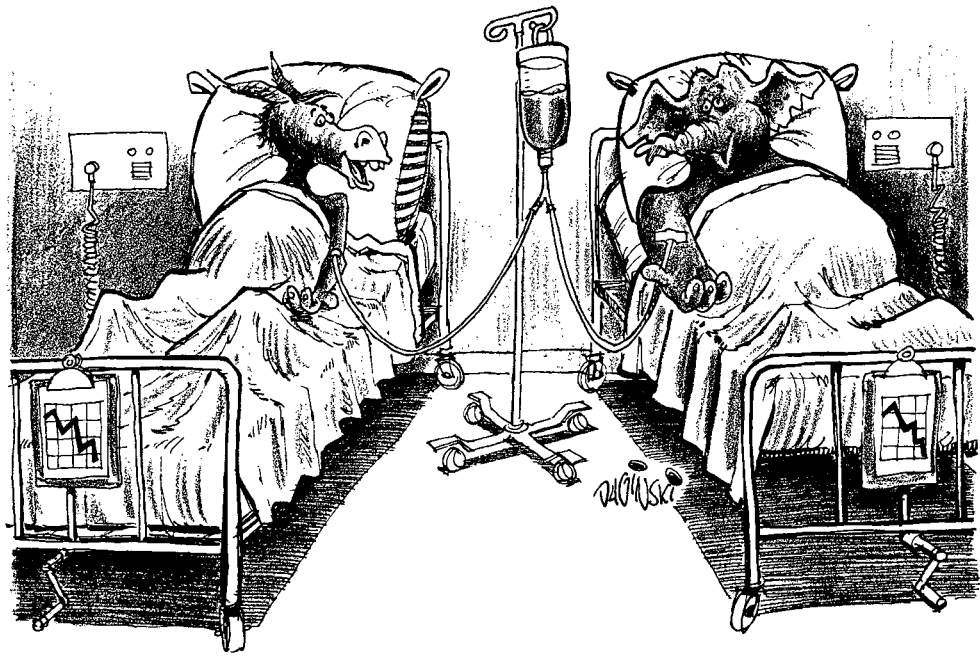
The "Party Renewal" movement

COURT DECISION COULD BRING NEW POWER FOR POLITICAL PARTIES

By CHARLES PRICE, CHARLES BELL and VIC POLLARD



It was embarrassing enough for Democratic Party officials when Ku Klux Klan leader Tom Metzger ran for the party's nomination in a Southern California congressional district a few years ago — and won it. But it was also infuriating. For they learned they were barred by law not only from officially opposing Metzger's candidacy but from refusing him a seat on the San Diego County Democratic Central Committee.

Although Metzger was defeated in the general election, the incident once again spotlighted the impotence of California's official political party organizations. The major parties have long been virtually irrelevant to office-seekers, the result of reforms launched in the Hiram Johnson era to weaken the parties and prevent them from running eastern-style political machines. But the Metzger incident showed that the Progressive reforms went so far that they left the parties in the absurd position of being unable to discipline or eject someone whose views they abhored.

The pendulum may be starting to swing in the other direction, however, thanks to efforts from a group of political scientists and other academics who are concerned about the declining health of the two-party system in California and across the country. With little attention from the media — but with support from local Democratic, Republican and Libertarian activists — the academics have laid the groundwork for a major change in the role of political parties in this state.

Organized under the banner of the "Party Renewal" movement, they filed a lawsuit challenging many of California's long-accepted legal restrictions on party activities, including rules against parties endorsing candidates in their own primary elections and in non-partisan races. Movement members argued that the prohibitions in state law were no longer needed to protect the public from corruption and meanwhile were hampering party activists in exercising their constitutional rights of free speech.

New power

They hit a legal jackpot. Federal Judge Marilyn Patel in San Francisco last spring, agreeing with the free-speech arguments, swept aside the ban on primary election endorsements and left the door open for another decision that would allow parties also to endorse in non-partisan races, including those for judges. Her April 16, 1984, decision (*San Francisco County Democratic Central Committee et al. v. March Fong Eu et al.)* also eliminated most state rules dealing with internal party structure.

If the decision stands up on appeal (which may ultimately require a hearing before the U.S. Supreme Court), it would bring enormous new power to county and state central committees — the groups that would do the endorsing. If, for instance, three or four candidates were seeking the nomination from a particular legislative district, the party's endorsement of one of them could be the decisive factor.

Rose King, former executive director of the California Democratic Party and now a legislative and political consultant, says about 35 percent of the Democratic voters in a typical legislative district are party loyalists, meaning that many of them — if not all — would be likely to heed the central committee's advice.

If central committees start endorsing, one result could be a major loss of power for party leaders in the state's legislative and congressional delegations. Today, it is the party leaders whose endorsements are often decisive in a local legislative or congressional race. This is so because they endorse candidates not only with kind words but with professional campaign assistance and financial aid as well. But if a central committee endorse-

Charles Price and Charles Bell are professors of political science at California State University, Chico, and California State University, Fullerton, respectively. Vic Pollard is Sacramento bureau chief for Gannett Newspapers.

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ment brings a large bloc of votes, candidates may want it even more than the expertise and money that a leadership endorsement would bring.

In most cases, presumably, the central committee and the leadership would work together and their favored candidate would get the endorsement of both. But problems could arise. In all likelihood, central committees would be dominated by local party activists who tend to be ideological — liberal on the Democratic side and conservative on the Republican. On the other hand, legislative and congressional leaders tend toward political pragmatism.

Consider this scenario: The Los Angeles County Democratic Central Committee, say, becomes a bastion of liberal activists. It becomes enamored of an anti-death-penalty, pro-gun-control councilman who comes across as a young George McGovern, and it wants to run him for the Assembly in a blue-collar district. The Assembly speaker, however, recognizes that the candidate is unelectable and backs a more moderate or even a conservative candidate.

The stage is set for some potentially damaging strife that's not likely to end with the election. Let's say the moderate wins. The central committee begins threatening to support young McGovern against him again in the next election if he does not follow a more liberal voting line. On the other hand, the speaker is telling him his re-election chances depend on voting with his moderate-to-conservative constituency.

Similar friction could occur in the Republican Party between ultra-conservative factions who support the GOP's "cavemen" in the Assembly and the more moderate wing of the party.

Not so far-fetched

That is by no means a hypothetical situation. In the early 1960s former Speaker Jesse Unruh had repeated run-ins with the liberal California Democratic Council — a volunteer organization with more clout than it has now — over just such issues. The CDCers accused Unruh of frequently selling out on civil rights and other issues. Unruh in turn was angered at the CDC's support for positions he felt were politically suicidal.

Not surprisingly, then, some legislative leaders are showing little enthusiasm for the Patel decision. "I believe the people are the party, not any organization," says state Senate President pro Tem David Roberti. "Hence, the right of endorsement should be reserved to the registered voters, except in special cases such as special elections in which a Democrat might vote for a Republican not knowing he or she was a Republican."

The Party Renewal activists are aware of the potential conflict but they are not worried about it.

"It's a challenge to the existing situation, sure," says Ed Costantini, a professor of political science at UC Davis. "But on the other hand, that's being challenged everywhere." He noted that Proposition 24, the Paul Gann initiative on last June's ballot, and Proposition 40, Assemblyman Ross Johnson's campaign-finance reform on last month's ballot, were major attacks on the political clout of state legislative leaders and that there are likely to be more. The Patel decision, he says, "could put a structure into place to replace that."

The lawsuit was initiated by the Northern California Committee for Party Renewal, with several county central committees of the Democratic, Republican and Libertarian parties as co-plaintiffs.

"The committee was set up, maybe about 1979, following the establishment of the National Committee for Party Renewal," Costantini continues. "It was set up by academics," he added with a chuckle. "You know academics. We don't know anything."

Kay Lawson, a political science professor at San Francisco State University and spokesperson for the California Committee for Party Renewal, says: "The parties are in serious decline. They are disdained by those who are just beginning to vote, hobbled by excessive governmental regulation and threatened by powerful single-issue groups. They seem incapable of offering either coherent and believeable programs or broadly acceptable leaders."

The guru of the Party Renewal movement nationally is political scientist James MacGregor Burns of Williams College in Massachusetts. A presidential historian and one-time confidant of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Burns believes that the two-party system is vital to the operation of the American scheme of government, and he contends it currently is in grave danger. President Reagan has done an excellent job of spelling out the conservative themes of the Republican Party, he says. But he indicates Reagan's leadership is personal rather than institutional and that the GOP may be in trouble when Reagan leaves office. And the Democratic Party, he fears, faces electoral oblivion unless it solidifies its left-of-center positions and offers voters a real choice at the polls. Only that way, he insists, can it get back the millions of poor, minorities and others who are now represented by neither party.

In any case, many California party leaders agree that if change comes it will come slowly and that state will not see the disciplined, monolithic parties found in some eastern states. The Progressive, anti-party tradition has been part of the California political milieu for too long. Moreover, the mood of the California electorate appears to be decidely anti-party. Nearly 10 percent of California voters are currently registered as "decline to state." Many are ticket-splitters, and those who do register as Republican or Democrat usually consider themselves only nominally committed to one of the parties. Furthermore, the care and feeding of an Eastern-style political machine requires a large pool of patronage jobs to hand out to party faithful — a condition that does not exist in California.

California party leaders, preoccupied with election campaigns through most of this year and waiting for a final legal ruling, haven't yet focused on the implications of Judge Patel's decision. Leaders in both parties are leery about endorsements in pre-primary campaigns by their state central com-

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mittees, fearing they could be destructive.

"We see it as a party-building tool," says Mike Gordon, executive director of the California Democratic Party. "I think it's a very strong tool for the county committees as well as the state committee. There's a lot of fear around what this does and does not do, but all it says is that the party is in charge of its own destiny. It doesn't mean we'll take this and run away with it. What it does do is allow us to take a look at where we can deal with our candidates and campaigns more effectively."

California Republican leaders, who have long presided over a party that is more unified than the opposition, are cautious about the idea of partisan endorsements. "I hope the Republican Party won't make any endorsements in the primary," says state Chairman Ed Reinecke. "It's too disruptive. Endorsing leads to deal-making, backroom politics and packing meetings."

Nevertheless, because of the continuous tug of war between the conservative and moderate factions of the California GOP, there will be "a lot of pressure" for at least the county committees to make endorsements in legislative and other local races, predicts Tony Quinn, political director of the Assembly Republican Caucus.

No explicit ban

Interestingly, early Progressives did not place into the Election Code an explicit ban on political party pre-primary endorsing. However, it was taken for granted by party leaders that there was an implied prohibition, although county committees from time to time have gone ahead and made endorsements anyway. Down through the years there have been conflicting legal opinions on the subject, but the Legislature settled the issue in 1963 by outlawing pre-primary endorsements. Long before that, the endorsing function had been taken over by unofficial party organizations such as the California Democratic Council, the California Republican Assembly, the United Republicans of California and the California Republican League. But the Patel decision clears the way for the parties to take another look at the issue of endorsements as well as most other party functions.

A different matter entirely is the concept of party endorsements in judicial and other non-partisan races. Although that may run even more strongly against California's anti-party tradition, many political leaders are salivating at the prospect of being able to throw their party's weight for or against a judge, mayor or county supervisor in a key race.

Gary Miller, chairman of the Sacramento County Democratic Central Committee, notes that many officials in local, non-partisan positions eventually try to move up the political ladder under party flags. "The next thing you get is them running for higher office and the more Republican they get in their outlook," Miller said. "I'd rather stop a Republican from gaining an inch than have to stop him down the road."

Legally, however, the fate of endorsements in non-partisan races is clouded. Judge Patel abstained on the question because it is currently before the state Supreme Court in a case involving Republican Party support for a campaign to recall Chief Justice Rose Bird. The question is whether the GOP can involve itself with that non-partisan office. But even if the Court ruling is negative, Costantini says, the Party Renewal activists are determined to press their case as far as they can.

Of course, the Patel decision raises many questions that have yet to be answered, but the Party Renewal activists, elated at their success so far, believe it could greatly enhance the role of party organizations in California. Local party units could become more active and visible with increased competition for seats on county central committees. In many counties, these local party units now are riddled with vacancies and virtually moribund. In addition, office seekers at the local level would be obliged to get more involved in grass-roots party organizations. State politicians would no longer be able to casually dismiss party activists' views.

In short, California politics could become more like politics in some midwestern and eastern states and might be described less frequently by the national media as zany or kooky.

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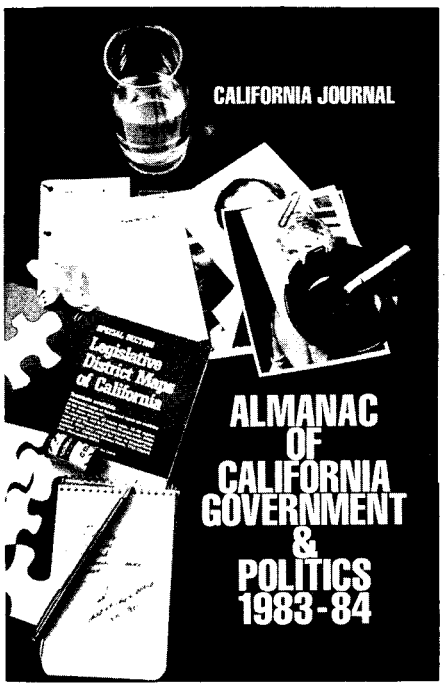

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DAN WALTERS: ROGUE ELEPHANT OF THE CAPITOL PRESS CORPS

By ADRIANA GIANTURCO

Until last June's Proposition 24 put a crimp in the Legislature's spending on itself, both the Democratic and Republican caucuses in the Senate and Assembly put out daily packages of press clippings for their members' information. The clippings were arranged, according to the news of the day, under headings such as "Education," "Transportation," and "Reapportionment." The daily packages also frequently included a category titled, simply, "Dan Walters."

Political columnist Dan Walters is described by Richard Steffen, the last of Jerry Brown's many press secretaries, as "the Sam Donaldson of Sacramento." Larry Thomas, Governor Deukmejian's chief press honcho, compares him to Jack Anderson. His colleagues in the media call him, variously, "brilliant," "loose with the facts," "basically a nice person," "vicious," "pompous," "arrogant," "an awesome talent." And, whether they like him or not, most of the movers-and-shakers in state government sit up and take more than a little notice when he aims a paragraph or two their way. Senate President pro Tem David Roberti comments, "A lot of people — legislators and lobbyists alike — would love to have his influence."

In short, Walters is the most widely read, single most influential, and most controversial reporter at the state Capitol — and he has been for some time. He came to the beat eleven years ago for the *Sacramento Union* and became a fixture there. But he surprised the locals last August by switching to the *Union*'s bigger and more powerful competitor, *The Sacramento Bee*.

Once tagged in these pages "the rogue elephant of the Capitol press corps (see "California's Power Elite," *CJ*, January 1980), Walters is big (6′ 3″ and 270 pounds — down, he claims, from a belt-busting 310 not long ago), with a fleshy, oblong face punctuated by a dark mustache and dark, piercing eyes. Walters talks in a loud voice and he's forceful and self-assured — some say overbearing. At least in the past, he tended to dominate Capitol press conferences, irritating many of his colleagues. Says Virgil Meibert of the *Oakland Tribune*, "He'd ask the first questions in his booming voice and then more follow-up questions. People would say afterwards, 'It was nice to be able to sit in on Dan Walters' interview with the governor, or whoever.' "

Although his turf encompasses the entirety of state government and politics, he occasionally strays onto the national scene as well; but Walters' specialty is the behind-the-scenes story about how a barely noticed, "little" bill is slithering through the legislative process to benefit some big-money special interest. Whatever his particular target, Walters likes to focus on the motivations of the people involved, and he prides himself on unravelling and explaining what's going on in a manner that brings home to Joe Six-Pack and his mother-in-law in Azusa how the shenanigans in Sacramento affect their lives and pocketbooks.

While it's not easy to pin down why things turn out the way they do in government and who in the end caused what to happen, there's little doubt that Walters often plays an important and sometimes decisive role. Some examples:

- Midway through his *Union* career, Walters disclosed in a front-page story that an important bill by Democratic Assemblyman Terry Goggin of San Bernardino, affecting the ties between oil companies and gas stations, exempted a single oil company, Douglas Oil. He also disclosed that Goggin's father was an executive with the firm and both Goggin père and Goggin fils had a financial interest in it. Walters recalls that when the Associated Press called Goggin about his article, Goggin said he was dropping the measure — and did so promptly.
- On another, unrelated oil-company matter, Walters revealed in a July 30, 1982, story that Mickey Kantor, chairman of then-Governor Brown's U.S. Senate campaign, had been hired by Tosco Corporation (a large refiner and Brown campaign contributor) to lobby for a bill that was likely to put one of Tosco's competitors out of business. Brown vetoed the bill when it got to his desk shortly after Walters' piece appeared. According to a top Brown aide, Brown was worried that the publicity over the bill and the Kantor connection might hurt him in the upcoming election.
- Writing in *The Bee* on August 31, 1984, Walters detailed efforts by Governor Deukmejian to restore high annual salaries to the three members of the Alcoholic Beverage Control Appeals Board — patronage appointees

Adriana Gianturco, director of the California Department of Transportation under former Governor Jerry Brown, was herself the occasional subject of Dan Walters' writings.

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all — despite the fact that changes in the Board's role had whittled their workload down to one meeting a month. On the day the column ran, copies of it showed up on the desks of members of the Assembly, where the vehicle for the administration-backed pay boost (a bill by Democratic Senator Alan Robbins of Van Nuys) was being heard. The vote was a hefty 68 against, two in favor.

Walters has a term for the kind of bills these examples illustrate: He calls them "mushroom bills, because they die if they're exposed to sunlight." And, he says, "I know when I sit down at the computer (reporters don't use typewriters anymore) that the mere act of writing this column is tantamount to killing the bill."

But his pieces often get to the bigger picture as well, dealing with what he considers to be flaws in the political system and its processes. Two of his favorite topics are the corrupting influence of campaign contributions and the use of legislative conference committees, particularly at the end of legislative sessions, to whip out bills with little or no public exposure. In the second of these areas Walters' crusading has paid off: Roberti gives Walters a lot of the credit for triggering changes last year in committee rules.

Walters works out of a small, windowless office on the third floor of the old "Ellis Building" a few steps from the Capitol, and he makes the usual rounds of legislative hearings and press conferences. But he also spends more time than most on what he calls "creative loitering," gossiping and trading stories with his colleagues, legislators and lobbyists. Some of his best tips, he says, come from the Third House (lobbyists), and he's proud of the network of sources he alone has cultivated over the years among their numbers.

Now 41, Walters was born in Kansas, the son of a musician based in New York who criss-crossed the country playing the saxophone and clarinet as a "side-man" for a number of big bands and orchestras. As a result, Walters spent a nomadic childhood in various communities scattered from coast to coast.

Some friends believe that Walters is sensitive about never having earned a high school diploma, much less a college degree. (For the diploma, he lacked one required course — ironically, Civics.) But newspaper owners are usually more interested in a novice's enthusiasm and willingness to work for low wages than in his or her academic pedigrees. Thus, Walters began his career in journalism in 1960 at the age of 17 as a copyboy for the *Eureka Times*, moving up a year later to cover police and city hall.

For the next thirteen years he held a succession of small-town newspaper jobs, eventually moving to the *Sacramento Union* in 1973, to its Capitol bureau in 1975 and to chief of the three-member bureau in 1978. He also built up a substantial traffic in freelance articles and now turns out 100 or so a year, most of them for business journals.

Although Walters was known around the Capitol as an aggressive reporter, and his stories often made waves, he would never have achieved his current prominence if he hadn't started a daily column in 1980. How he did it may seem like a mystery, considering that he continued to write daily news stories and his freelance articles as well. But Walters' productivity is a legend at the Capitol and his colleagues were not surprised.

Walters says that when he was waiting in the hospital for his wife Diana to give birth to the first of their two daughters in 1966 he borrowed a typewriter and pounded out two editorials for the next day's issue of the *Hanford Sentinel*, where he worked at the time as managing editor.

To *The Bee*

Walters' move from the financially-beleaguered and conservative *Union* to the booming and liberal *Bee* provoked a lot of comment around the Capitol. Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, who a few years back gave Walters the "Fiction Writer of the Year Award," this time told his colleagues, "I do think that the circulation of the *Union* probably will go down. I don't know of any other reason to read the newspaper. Whether you like or dislike Walters, at least it was entertaining, and now there is nothing left . . ."

Despite Brown's words, the *Union* has plenty left. How-

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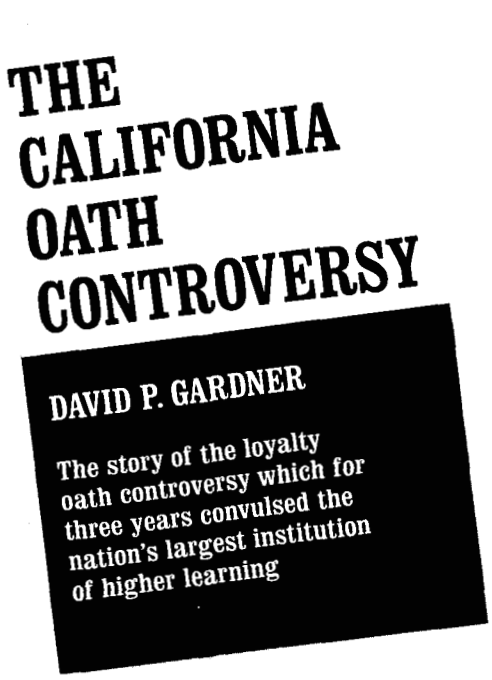
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ever, there is no denying that Walters' departure will cost it circulation. In fact, it has been reliably reported that *The Bee,* which has been looking and acting more aggressive lately — went after Walters as much to hurt the opposition as to add a new feature to itself.

Walters negotiated his change with Gregory Favre, *The Bee's* new editor and the man generally credited with making the paper more aggressive. Favre and Walters sealed the deal during the Democratic National Convention in San Francisco last July at Lefty O'Doul's bar on Geary Street. However, before accepting *The Bee* offer, Walters went to *Union* management and asked again to be named editor of the paper, a position he had been eyeing for some time. But the *Union* refused. (The paper later hired Bruce Winters, former editor of the *Los Angeles Daily News.)*

Insiders say that *The Bee* is paying Walters $50,000 annually, about $8000 more than he had at the *Union.* Walters won't talk about his *Bee* wages but says that he makes another $12,000 to $15,000 a year from his freelancing. And there is some psychic reward as well. Walters' column, now carried by *The Bee's* McClatchy News Service to 18 other papers, will be read far more widely than before.

Walters says he made the switch for two reasons: First, that he was spread too thin at the *Union* with his reporting, bureau-managing and column-writing job. At *The Bee,* he'll do only the column. Second, he says, the *Union's* news product was deteriorating, largely because of gimmicky efforts to build circulation and a lackadaisical approach to news. "You don't want to work someplace you're ashamed to admit you work for," he says.

Leaning to the right?

Many observers of the Sacramento scene are bemused by the apparent ease with which Walters made the move from a solidly conservative paper to an equally solidly liberal one, particularly since Walters himself is generally regarded — by those on both sides of the aisle — as leaning at least slightly rightward. As evidence for this, Walters-watchers cite his seeming proclivity to go after Democrats, and what they sense is his glee in describing Democratic pecadilloes and weaknesses. Taking this one step further, some criticize him for what they say is his failure to come clean about his presumed biases.

Walters is also faulted for tending to see conniving political hobgoblins lurking in every Capitol nook and cranny. Roberti says that while Walters is often right on target he is also cynical. But, says Roberti, people are motivated by a host of things — not just venal self-interest.

"People often run for office for the best of reasons. Of course once they get in they realize they have to make compromises and accommodations. These aren't necessarily vices — which is how Walters looks at this . . . If people in government are always doing illegitimate things, then the system is corrupt and we need a benevolent dictator instead of a democracy." Roberti adds, "On a steady diet of Walters, you just become immune. Your reaction becomes: 'There he goes again.' This is not to say he's not read. But he's created his own anti-toxin."

Another set of criticisms levelled at Walters has to do with his journalistic techniques. He is accused by some — colleagues and subjects alike — of failing to talk to the people he writes about, failing to check facts, and reaching far-fetched conclusions from information that may or may not be accurate.

For instance, there was an August 14, 1984, Walters column about an audit of the California District Attorneys Association and its former executive director, Steven White. It drew a heated response from that organization's current president, District Attorney Michael Bradbury of Ventura County. Noting in a lengthy *Bee* "op ed" piece that Walters talked to White only after completing the body of the column, Bradbury rebutted Walters' contentions point-by-point and accused Walters of having "sacrificied journalistic integrity either by failing to review the facts which he had in hand, or by misstating or omitting facts which were not consistent with the apparent 'angle' of his preconceived story."

Alan Sumner, deputy legal secretary to former Governor Brown and one of several persons mentioned in a March 2, 1982, Walters column about politicians meddling in the possible paroles for several notorious killers, thinks Walters' weak point is something a little more subtle. Says Sumner (who was not contacted by Walters before the parole column and who disputes how Walters characterized his actions), "Generally I think he gets the theme of the play, but he gets individual players cast in the wrong roles. The general theme may be correct but he can be rather cavalier about the specific actions of individuals. To the over-all readership nobody would care about these fine points. But to the individuals involved it makes a great deal of difference what somebody says about them, by name, about their conduct."

A fundamental concern

Walters denies any partisan bias or that he's conservative in his political views, pointing out that he frequently goes out after big corporate interests. He says his fundamental concern is for integrity and morality in politics. This means, he says, that "the playing field shouldn't be tilted to benefit people with money and influence" and "those who are elected to office should represent the best interests of those who elected them and not look at their constituents as blips on a computer to be manipulated."

As for his journalistic practices. Walters says the basic problem is people don't understand what a political column is, probably because Sacramento — unlike Washington — isn't used to them, particularly on a daily basis. A column, says Walters, is opinion, "no more bound by the rules of a story than an editorial. In a column you short-circuit the process. You don't get mixed up in the technical paraphernalia of a story. You create a scenario. You say this is my version of reality: reality as I see it." Walters says he couldn't possibly talk to very single person involved in all the complicated maneuvers he writes about, much less include all the different views of each of the players in the 800 words to which his columns are limited. "I could have debated Alan Sumner, whether he did this or that, for seven paragraphs, and he wasn't even the point of the story — Jerry Brown was."

On a personal level, Walters comes across as someone who's enjoying himself immensely. Outside of his job he's an avid and accomplished carpenter and he's spent a good deal of his spare time over the past several years single-handedly remodeling his house, room by room. He's also an expert poker player, "the best in the press corps," says Virgil Meibert. "He inevitably wins — people are afraid to challenge him. But he's very good-natured. If he loses — and this doesn't happen a lot — he laughs."

There's been a commercial running on all the major Sacramento TV stations, part of a high-powered new promotional campaign by *The Sacramento Bee.* The scene is an office — in a combat zone. A roll of barbed wire lies on the desk and sandbags are piled around. Dan Walters is pounding away on a clunky old typewriter, wearing fatigues and a battle helmet. He rips the paper out of the carriage, rolls it up and loads it into a mortar. A solemn voice says, "Six days a week Dan Walters fires off the most explosive political column in Sacramento." The mortar goes off, with a lot of smoke and noise. There's a slight pause, and Walters winks.

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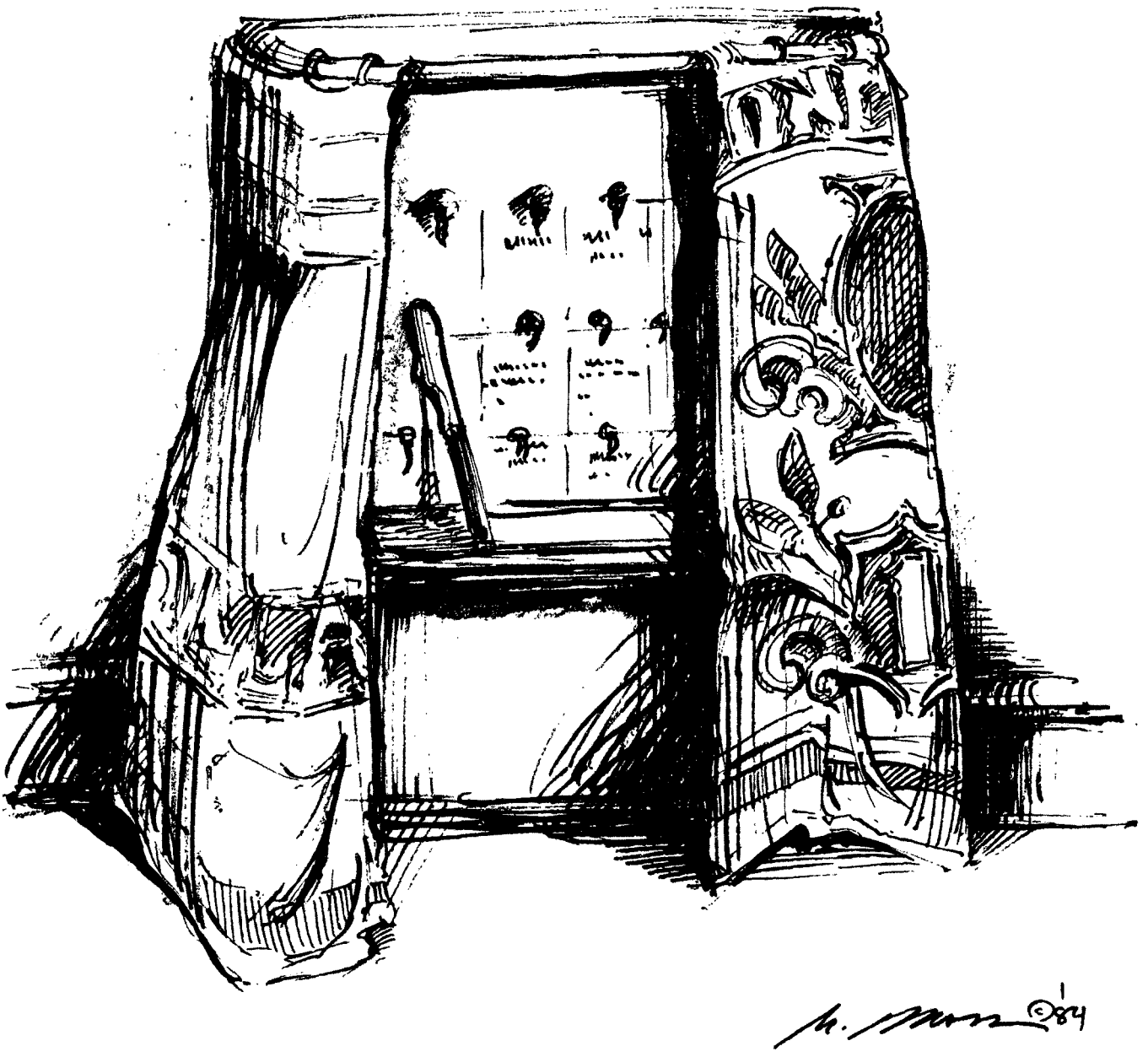
ELECTION '84:
California Journal's Analysis of the 1984 Election, including the Propositions



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ELECTION '84:

At the state level, the 1984 elections in California were more interesting for the issues involved than for the candidates. It wasn't hard for the issues to dominate this year, for this was one of those twelfth-year elections in which there are no openings for statewide office (and that includes California's two seats in the U.S. Senate). As a result, voters had only legislative and congressional seats to fill, and in most cases, those races were — thanks to the 1982 reapportionment — shoo-ins for incumbents.

As a result, most attention centered on six initiatives among the 16 ballot measures. To officeholders, Proposition 39 — Governor Deukmejian's reapportionment plan — was of more interest than anything else. If the governor had been victorious, Democratic domination of the Legislature and the state's congressional delegation could have ended in 1986. And with fewer Democrats to block them, the programs and policies not only of Deukmejian but of President Reagan would have flourished more easily than before.

For the rest, Howard Jarvis suffered another ballot loss, campaign finance reform and a welfare cut were defeated, while a lottery and English-only ballots were approved.

In the legislative and congressional races, Republicans picked up one seat each in the Assembly, Senate and the congressional delegations. However, looking to Reagan's coattails, they had hoped for more. In the 45-member congressional delegation, the count went from 28-17 for the Democrats to 27-18. The Senate results were a bit more complicated. Before the election, it was 25 Democrats, 14 Republicans and one independent. The GOP picked up the independent seat, making it 25-15. In the Assembly, the count went from 48-32 in favor of Democrats to 47-33.

Robert Fairbanks

GUIDE TO TABLES

The election results used in this analysis are from the semi-official canvass conducted by the secretary of state's office. The numbers after each district are the registration percentages as of October 1984. Names printed in **bold** are winners in each district.

Abbreviations: Inc. for Incumbent; D for Democrat; R for Republican; L for Libertarian; P&F for Peace and Freedom; AIP for American Independent Party; and I for Independent.

Final, official vote totals may alter the results given here due to the addition of write-in ballots uncounted at press time.

Reagan, again

Ronald Reagan, who won his first elective race in California 18 years ago, remains unbeaten in his own ball yard. Despite former Vice President Walter Mondale's best efforts, Reagan carried California November 6th by nearly 1.5 million votes — almost the same margin he enjoyed over Jimmy Carter four years ago. Nationwide, the president won 49 of 50 states.

Although early polls showed Mondale trailing by 16 points, he and his running mate — Congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro — made numerous forays into the state. Toward the end, even the Reagan forces were impressed and the president made campaign stops here that were not planned at the start. But a Mondale victory was not to be. Since Reagan first ran for office against former Governor Pat Brown in 1966, he has piled up six impressive victories — including two over incumbent presidents (the 1976 GOP presidential primary over Gerald Ford and the 1980 election over Jimmy Carter). This time, he carried 53 of the state's 58 counties, losing only in Alameda, San Francisco, Yolo, Santa Cruz and Marin. On the other hand, he carried conservative Orange County three-to-one.

Reagan (R)	**5,305,410**	**(58%)**
Mondale (D)	3,815,947	(41%)
Richards (AIP)	37,900	(.4%)
Johnson (P&F)	25,089	(.3%)
Bergland (L)	48,400	(.5%)

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PROPOSITIONS

California voters faced a ballot in November that could have produced enormous changes in state government and politics. But it did not. Voters rejected its most sweeping proposals, all of which were initiatives that had conservative and/or populist interests at heart. The reasons for rejection were undoubtedly as varied as the electorate itself. However, it's also true that the proposals involved so many unfamilar details of government that a voter needed a civics course to sort through all the conflicting and often misleading statements broadsided about by both sides in the various campaigns. As many observers have noted over the years: When voters are in doubt, they say "no."

The big loser was Governor George Deukmejian, who sank considerable money and prestige into the effort to pass Proposition 39, a measure that would have required another reapportioning of the state's legislative and congressional districts, not by the Legislature but by a panel of retired judges. Esoteric as the reapportionment issue may be, many persons, including opponents of the governor, believe he could have won that fight with a more effective advertising campaign.

	For	Against
Proposition 25 ($325 million clean-water bond issue)	**6,325,520 73%**	2,352,634 27%
Proposition 26 ($450 million school bond issue)	**5,190,887 61%**	3,354,902 39%
Proposition 27 ($100 million hazardous-waste bond issue)	**6,127,169 72%**	2,383,435 28%
Proposition 28 ($75 million drinking-water bond issue)	**6,328,391 74%**	2,281,141 26%
Proposition 29 ($650 million Cal-Vet loan bond issue)	**5,686,321 66%**	2,884,906 34%
Proposition 30 ($50 million senior-citizen center bond issue)	**5,744,539 67%**	2,855,845 33%
Proposition 31 (Property tax exemption — fire-prevention)	**4,170,563 51%**	4,044,893 49%
Proposition 32 (Supreme Court procedures)	**4,643,351 59%**	3,195,841 41%
Proposition 33 (Property tax postponement — blind and disabled persons)	**6,929,082 82%**	1,505,503 18%
Proposition 34 (Property tax exemption — historical structures)	3,880,878 47%	**4,305,288 53%**
Proposition 36 (Howard Jarvis' "save 13" initiative)	3,941,286 45%	**4,764,792 55%**
Proposition 37 (Lottery initiative)	**5,248,052 58%**	3,812,402 42%
Proposition 38 (Bilingual ballot initiative)	**6,207,657 71%**	2,573,476 29%
Proposition 39 (Reapportionment initiative)	3,875,866 45%	**4,790,147 55%**
Proposition 40 (Campaign finance reform initiative)	3,025,179 36%	**5,480,743 64%**
Proposition 41 (Welfare initiative)	3,155,385 37%	**5,363,984 63%**

Democrats, who created the current district boundaries to favor themselves, began early and hammered at two themes: That yet another redistricting would waste taxpayers' money and that Deukmejian's plan would mire an independent judiciary in backroom politics. Deukmejian's late starting and lackluster campaign could not shift the focus to his basic argument: that it is a conflict-of-interest for the Legislature to reapportion itself. The extent of the defeat was measured by the fact that Proposition 39 lost in the most Republican county in the state — Orange.

The big winners were Democrats in general and Assembly Speaker Willie Brown in particular. By defeating Proposition 39 and Proposition 40 — a measure to limit campaign contributions in state elections — they removed major threats to the party and incumbent officeholders (see "Double trouble for Democrats," and "The future of Willie Brown," *CJ*, September 1984). One day after the election returns were in, Brown's jubilant Democratic colleagues endorsed him for a third term as speaker.

Also on the losing side was Howard Jarvis and his "Save 13" proposal — Proposition 36. Essentially, its mistake was to go beyond overturning the court decisions that had weakened 1978's Proposition 13 and propose something new: limits on various governmental fees. Fearful that such limits might impede construction of water, sewer, electric and similar facilities, and thereby block property development in general, the state's biggest business interests determined to oppose Jarvis and financed the effective campaign against his measure. But Jarvis, as usual, is promising to return (see "The Initiative Business," page 468).

Republican Assemblyman Ross Johnson of La Habra became the first person to lose two initiatives on the same ballot. As the author of Proposition 40, he was opposed not only by Democrats but by many Republicans, corporate interests and labor unions as well. His measure was complicated and affected many areas of campaign finance but probably generated its most well-heeled opposition from business and labor. By disallowing large political contributions, it would have reduced their influence significantly.

Johnson's other proposal, Proposition 41, would have required major cuts in state spending for welfare and Medi-Cal unless the Legislature, by a two-thirds vote, intervened. Although Johnson said his measure was not aimed at the aged, blind and disabled, it would have affected their benefits under Medi-Cal, and those groups were opposed. However, much of the money to fight his plan came from doctors and hospitals. Johnson, who had little funding for the measure, was given free air time toward the end of the campaign.

Not that voters shot down every initiative on the ballot. After an expensive campaign financed on the pro side by a slot-machine manufacturer (whose subsidiary makes lottery tickets) and on the con by the state's horse-racing business, Californians voted to establish a state-run lottery. In approving the measure, Proposition 37, they overrode opposition not only from the governor but from most law-enforcement officials in the state.

Voters also approved, overwhelmingly, an initiative aimed at repeal of federal laws requiring bilingual ballots. The measure, Proposition 38, was sponsored most prominently by former U.S. Senator S. I. Hayakawa and San Francisco Supervisor Quentin Kopp. It requires the governor to write the president, the U.S. Attorney General and all members of Congress requesting that voting materials be published in English only.

Although the foregoing six initiatives were the most interest-

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ing and controversial proposals on the ballot, they were not alone. Voters also made decisions on 10 propositions placed before them by the Legislature. Four of the 10 involved relatively minor constitutional changes, one of which, however, was refused. The measure, Proposition 34, would have granted property tax breaks to persons who rennovated historical structures. The other three, along with six relatively straightforward bond issues were approved.

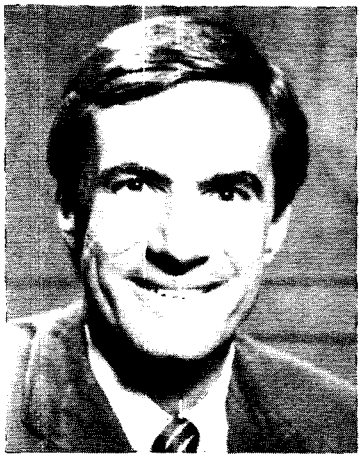
Although Deukmejian did not oppose any of the bond issues, he had argued last June that their $1.65 billion total was too high. Administration spokesmen contended that voters might become concerned by the wholesale issuance of debt and begin a willy-nilly rejection of bond proposals. But when the governor sought to impose a $1 billion limit on bond issues for the November ballot, the Legislature, including many Republicans, rebelled and forced him to accept the $1.65 billion amount.

In addition to showing that they do not yet share the governor's fears concerning bonds, voters indicated that they are more willing to spend for a clean environment than for anything else. As was the case with bond issues on the ballot last June, those financing environmental programs got the highest levels of support.

THE SAN DIEGO MAYORAL RACE

Roger Hedgecock and the Miracle of '84

By BARRY HORSTMAN



The major question being asked by many California politicos these days is how Roger Hedgecock survived months of adverse publicity that would have been enough to oust almost any other politician anywhere. Hedgecock, of course, is the mayor of San Diego who won reelection November 6th despite the fact that he was facing both criminal charges and a $1 million civil lawsuit in connection with allegedly illegal campaign contributions.

"This reminds me of a science-fiction movie where the beast comes out of the depths, and they attack him with tanks, planes and flamethrowers, but he just keeps on coming," says Hedgecock's smiling chief of staff, J. Michael McDade.

Hedgecock's opponent in the mayor's race was La Jolla businessman Dick Carlson, a political novice who entered the contest before the criminal indictment was handed down against Hedgecock but after controversy over the mayor's personal and campaign finances had begun. His occasional misstatements on issues and difficulty articulating a specific vision for San Diego no doubt contributed to Hedgecock's 58 percent-42 percent win.

But that hardly explains the Houdini-like performance of this 38-year-old moderate Republican. When something like this happened once before in San Diego, the mayor then was thrown out. (The year was 1971 and Mayor Frank Curran, indicted the year before on charges involving bribes from the Yellow Cab Company and acquitted before the election, was nevertheless defeated by then-Assemblyman Pete Wilson.)

Hedgecock says he avoided Curran's fate because voters were willing to judge him on the basis of his mayoral performance while leaving legal judgements to the courts. And his mayoral record — even according to many opponents — was good. It was highlighted by a successful push for a downtown convention center, planning to extend the San Diego trolley and enactment of a tightened growth-management plan. Also, before becoming mayor, he had been a relatively popular county supervisor for more than six years.

However, realizing that his record was overshadowed by his indictment last September, he also mounted a campaign aimed at discrediting the charges. He noted first that the man who brought the charges, San Diego District Attorney Edwin L. Miller, had supported his (Hedgecock's) opponent in the 1983 mayoral campaign. Thus, he contended, the charges were politically motivated, stemming from what he called "routine business and political behavior that the DA has twisted into a ridiculous conspiracy theory."

Essentially, the case against Hedgecock (and three of his closest supporters) stems from allegations that tens of thousands of dollars in illegal campaign contributions were laundered through a political-consulting firm and funneled into his 1983 mayoral campaign. (The civil suit, brought by the state's Fair Political Practices Commission, covers much the same ground.) If convicted, Hedgecock would be removed from office and a new election held.

Polls showed that many San Diegans accepted Hedgecock's view of the case. Two weeks before the election, one poll reported that nearly 90 percent of those questioned believed that the charges against the mayor were at least partially motivated by politics. In an election-day exit poll, more than half the respondents said they believed that news coverage had been unfair to Hedgecock.

In the latter regard, the *San Diego Union* earlier this year made a front-page retraction in connection with a story it had printed concerning grand jury information against the mayor. The paper said that some of the information was not actually in the report.

Throughout the campaign, Hedgecock often told voters that they had "nothing to lose" by reelecting him. If he is convicted, he explained, there would be a new election and voters would have a whole new range of candidates to choose from, not merely the inexperienced Carlson.

In any case, Hedgecock's trial began November 1st and is expected to continue through early next year. "It's sort of a one-down, one-to-go type situation," Hedgecock says. "But as I've said all along, I'm more confident about the trial than I was about the election."

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CONGRESS

The politician who exerted the greatest influence on congressional races in California this year was not — as Republicans had hoped — Ronald Reagan. It was the late Democratic Congressman Phil Burton. When Burton drew new congressional districts for the 1980s, he so insulated incumbents that only two have been defeated by a non-incumbent (one each in 1982 and 1984). Before Burton sliced up the state, Democrats held a slim 22-21 edge in what was then a 43-person delegation (population gains from the 1980 census added two more). After this election, however, California will send 27 Democrats and 18 Republicans to Washington, a net gain of one GOP seat over 1982 — despite the fact that Republican candidates for Congress received more votes statewide than did Democratic candidates.

The magnitude of incumbent victories emphasized just how little competition exists in most districts. For instance, 32 incumbents won by margins of at least two-to-one. Eleven of the 32 outpolled their opponents three-to-one, while three more were not even opposed by a major party candidate (Democrat Robert Matsui; Republicans Carlos Moorhead and Jerry Lewis).

The sole incumbent to lose in 1984 was Democrat Jerry Patterson from Orange County (38th District), who was probably the one candidate done in by Ronald Reagan's coattails. Reagan beat Walter Mondale three-to-one in Orange, and although Patterson ran 20 points ahead of the national ticket on his home ground, he still fell eight percent short of flamboyant former Republican Congressman Robert Dornan — known as "B-1 Bob" for avidly supporting a proposed bomber of the same name during his congressional days.

Two other races of note involved incumbent Democrats George Brown (36th) and Marty Martinez (30th). The liberal Brown scored his most impressive victory yet over conservative Republican John Stark, who had gone to the mat with him for the third time. On the other hand, Martinez got a surprisingly tough challenge from Montebello attorney Richard Gomez. Although Martinez won, he ran well behind party registration in his largely Hispanic district.

District 1 (55% D — 33% R)

Bosco (Inc. — D)	**153,422**	**(62%)**
Redick (R)	92,676	(38%)

Bosco, who narrowly defeated 20-year incumbent Don Clausen in 1982, has solidified his hold on this largely rural district.

District 2 (48% D — 40% R)

Chappie (Inc. — R)	**156,758**	**(70%)**
Cozad (D)	68,930	(30%)

Chappie, whose margin of victory slipped in 1982, is back stronger than ever with this victory over Cozad — a Chico CPA.

District 3 (57% D — 33% R)

Matsui (Inc. — D)	**125,309**	**(100%)**

Matsui was never in trouble.

District 4 (55% D — 32% R)

Fazio (Inc. — D)	**127,133**	**(62%)**
Canfield (R)	75,522	(37%)
Pope (L)	3,934	(2%)

In case anyone missed it the first time, Fazio and Canfield did an instant replay of their 1982 contest.

District 5 (64% D — 20% R)

Burton (Inc. — D)	**137,763**	**(72%)**
Spinosa (R)	45,178	(24%)
Clark (P&F)	3,512	(2%)
Fuhrig (L)	3,947	(2%)

Sala Burton didn't draw as strong a GOP opponent as her late husband, Phil, did in 1982 when he ran against state Senator Milton Marks.

District 6 (57% D — 27% R)

Boxer (Inc. — D)	**159,727**	**(68%)**
Binderup (R)	69,518	(30%)
Creighton (L)	5,488	(2%)

Essentially, this is the district that the late Phil Burton created for brother John. Boxer, a former Marin supervisor, inherited — and its overwhelming Democratic edge — when John retired.

District 7 (57% D — 32% R)

Miller (Inc. — D)	**154,846**	**(67%)**
Thakar (R)	76,877	(33%)

Miller's solid Contra Costa County base gave him his fifth straight two-to-one victory.

District 8 (64% D — 24% R)

Dellums (Inc. — D)	**142,349**	**(61%)**
Connor (R)	92,913	(39%)

In the beginning, Dellums' bid for an eighth term was filled with unknowns. Last spring former Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver — a born-again conservative — announced an independent challenge. Would a Cleaver candidacy siphon off black votes? Then, for the first time, a black challenger won the Republican primary. Would Connor cut into Dellums' base of support in black areas of Alameda County? Finally, the fiery liberal had been investigated for — and cleared of — drug charges by the House Ethics Committee. But, the Cleaver candidacy never materialized, Connor lost Alameda three-to-one and the House investigation was never an issue as Dellums piled up his most impressive win in years.

District 9 (60% D — 28% R)

Stark (Inc. — D)	**135,316**	**(70%)**
Eager Beaver (R)	50,711	(26%)
Fuhrig (L)	7,315	(4%)

Pete Stark, who had tough contests in '80 and '82, got a respite this year with an 80-year-old whose legal name is J. T. Eager Beaver.

District 10 (60% D — 26% R)

Edwards (Inc. — D)	**100,368**	**(62%)**
Herriott (R)	55,238	(34%)
Kaiser (AIP)	2,594	(2%)
Cardestam (L)	2,717	(2%)

An exact re-run of 1982, including votes for Kaiser and the Libertarian candidate.

District 11 (56% D — 31% R)

Lantos (Inc. — D)	**146,131**	**(70%)**
Hickey (R)	59,125	(28%)
Kudrovzeff (AIP)	3,843	(2%)

Kudrovzeff tripled his vote tally between 1982 and 1984.

District 12 (44% D — 41% R)

Zschau (Inc. — R)	**150,144**	**(62%)**
Carnoy (D)	88,368	(36%)
White (L)	5,663	(2%)

Ed Zschau performed well despite the addition of Democratic areas in Palo Alto and Santa Cruz County, the loss of some Republican areas in Stanislaus County and an aggressive opponent from the Stanford faculty. A highly-touted freshman incumbent, he is considering a run at Alan Cranston in 1986.

District 13 (51% D — 36% R)

Minetta (Inc. — D)	**136,936**	**(65%)**
Williams (R)	69,180	(33%)
Redding (L)	3,740	(2%)

The ever-popular Norm Minetta continues to roll over weak Republican challengers.

District 14 (48% D — 40% R)

Shumway (Inc. — R)	**175,631**	**(73%)**
Carlson (D)	57,263	(24%)
Colburn (L)	6,708	(3%)

Norm Shumway's biggest victory in years, thanks to a challenger — Ruth Carlson — who claimed she heard "voices" in her ear and said she was on an FBI hit list. Nevertheless, 57,263 voters wanted her in Congress.

District 15 (56% D — 34% R)

Coelho (Inc. — D)	**106,518**	**(66%)**
Harner (R)	53,078	(33%)
Harris (L)	3,067	(2%)

Coelho harbors ambitions of some day succeeding Tip O'Neill as speaker of the House; in the immediate future, he'll settle for national chairman of the Democratic Party.

District 16 (52% D — 35% R)

Panetta (Inc. — D)	**149,252**	**(71%)**
Ramsey (R)	58,385	(28%)
Anderson (L)	3,231	(2%)

Panetta is an immovable object in this Carmel Valley district.

District 17 (52% D — 39% R)

Pashayan (Inc. — R)	**125,346**	**(73%)**
Lakritz (D)	47,138	(27%)

A whopping victory for three-termer Chip Pashayan.

District 18 (60% D — 31% R)

Lehman (Inc. — D)	**125,178**	**(67%)**
Ewen (R)	60,808	(33%)

Rick Lehman could have been shut out in Madera, Mono, San Joaquin and Tuolumne counties — and still won, for Fresno County gave him 64,000 votes.

District 19 (48% D — 39% R)

Lagomarsino (Inc. – R)	**146,161**	**(67%)**
Carey (D)	67,938	(31%)
Zekan (P&F)	4,015	(2%)

Santa Barbara County is a safe haven for the popular "Lago." Should he retire, however, there could be a real brawl; perhaps a rerun involving state Senator Gary Hart and former Assemblyman Charles Imbrecht, now chairman of the Energy Commission, who faced each

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BROWN

DORNAN

other for the state Senate in 1982.

District 20 (46% D — 44% R)

Thomas (Inc. — R)	**142,186**	**(71%)**
LeSage (D)	58,233	(29%)

Bakersfield's Bill Thomas can represent this district as long as he wants it.

District 21 (39% D — 50% R)

Fiedler (Inc. — R)	**168,765**	**(72%)**
Davis (D)	60,655	(26%)
Leet (L)	4,250	(2%)

Fiedler is another of those ambitious Republicans mentioned prominently as a potential challenger to Alan Cranston in '86.

District 22 (36% D — 55% R)

Moorhead (Inc. — R)	**178,782**	**(85%)**
Yauch (L)	30,988	(15%)

An impressive showing — for both candidates.

District 23 (55% D — 36% R)

Beilenson (Inc. — D)	**136,110**	**(62%)**
Parrish (R)	80,523	(37%)
Leathers (L)	3,374	(2%)

An aggressive GOP registration drive didn't stop Tony Beilenson from getting 60 percent of the vote.

District 24 (60% D — 28% R)

Waxman (Inc. — D)	**93,811**	**(64%)**
Zerg (R)	48,751	(33%)
Custer (L)	2,355	(2%)
Green (P&F)	2,657	(2%)

Henry Waxman devoted most of his energies to the defeat of Proposition 39 — the reapportionment initiative. Zerg is now 0-2, having lost to Waxman in 1982, as well.

District 25 (71% D — 20% R)

Roybal (Inc. — D)	**71,756**	**(72%)**
Bloxom (R)	23,717	(24%)
Bajada (L)	4,224	(4%)

Ed Roybal, who scored a personal victory when the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration reform bill was defeated in Congress, is an institution in East Los Angeles.

District 26 (57% D — 34% R)

Berman (Inc. — D)	**113,722**	**(63%)**
Ojeda (R)	66,896	(37%)

Berman, like Waxman, spearheaded the drive to defeat Proposition 39 — and still ran ahead of his 1982 vote.

District 27 (55% D — 33% R)

Levine (Inc. — D)	**101,922**	**(53%)**
Scribner (R)	83,719	(44%)
Avrech (L)	2,865	(2%)
O'Connor (P&F)	3,578	(2%)

Mel Levine spent no money on his own campaign while his opponent — a former running back for the Los Angeles Rams — Spent close to $150,000. Levine's effort went into the anti-39 campaign.

District 28 (73% D — 19% R)

Dixon (Inc. — D)	**109,753**	**(76%)**
Jett (R)	32,225	(22%)
Federick (L)	2,818	(2%)

It wasn't a Republican year in this part of Los Angeles.

District 29 (84% D — 10% R)

Hawkins (Inc. — D)	**106,494**	**(87%)**
Goto (R)	16,289	(13%)

Republicans in this district must feel as lonely as the Maytag repair man.

District 30 (62% D — 29% R)

Martinez (Inc. — D)	**62,837**	**(52%)**
Gomez (R)	52,205	(43%)
Myers (AIP)	5,897	(5%)

The results of this election indicate that Hispanics — who make up a large portion of the district — do not represent a firm Democratic vote. Although Marty Martinez survived, Richard Gomez, an attorney from Montebello, proved that an attractive Republican candidate can run well ahead of GOP registration.

District 31 (72% D — 20% R)

Dymally (Inc. — D)	**97,972**	**(71%)**
Minturn (R)	40,440	(29%)

Minturn did worse this time than two years ago against Dymally.

District 32 (58% D — 32% R)

Anderson (Inc. — D)	**99,472**	**(61%)**
Fiola (R)	59,860	(37%)
Denny (L)	2,430	(2%)
McCoy (P&F)	1,964	(1%)

Anderson wasn't hurt by the addition of Downey and its conservative Democrats. Two years ago, he had a tougher time with Brian Lungren, brother of Congressman Dan.

District 33 (44% D — 47% R)

Dreier (Inc. — R)	**142,951**	**(71%)**
McDonald (D)	52,925	(26%)
Lightfoot (L)	4,607	(2%)
Noonan (P&F)	2,285	(1%)

Dave Dreier's toughest elections are behind him.

District 34 (63% D — 29% R)

Torres (Inc. — D)	**85,033**	**(60%)**
Jackson (R)	56,786	(40%)

Paul Jackson probably had his best shot at Torres two years ago.

District 35 (41% D — 48% R)

Lewis (Inc. — R)	**172,651**	**(85%)**
Akin (P&F)	29,480	(15%)

The Democrats didn't even apply.

District 36 (56% D — 33% R)

Brown (Inc. — D)	**103,076**	**(57%)**
Stark (R)	78,904	(43%)

Republicans felt they had their best chance ever to retire 64-year-old George Brown. His district made a right turn politically several years ago while Brown continued down the same liberal path; his opponent — conservative John Paul Stark — had nearly defeated Brown twice before; the GOP mounted a successful registration drive during the summer; and Ronald Reagan headed the ticket in what promised to be a Republican year. But Brown survived, and many experts were baffled by it. Brown himself had been prepared to lose, although he waged an aggressive campaign. In the end, Republicans may simply have gone to the well once too often with Stark.

District 37 (44% D — 45% R)

McCandless (Inc. — R)	**146,196**	**(64%)**
Skinner (D)	83,932	(37%)

McCandless' toughest challenge lies in the future — if state Senator Robert Presley ever decides he'd like to forsake Sacramento for Washington.

District 38 (50% D — 39% R)

Patterson (Inc. — D)	71,288	(45%)
Dornan (R)	**84,131**	**(53%)**
Bright (P&F)	2,943	(2%)

Jerry Patterson, a five-term incumbent, really had no chance. Two years ago, he narrowly escaped against an opponent with no money and no name recognition. Since then, his 17-point registration margin shrank to 11 points in an area where Democrats tend to vote Republican as often as Democratic. Finally, he faced a flamboyant former congressman in Dornan, who spent over $1 million and was helped by several district forays by Ronald Reagan himself. Patterson, the only Democratic congressman from Orange County, can take some comfort in the fact that he ran 20 points ahead of the national ticket on his home turf.

District 39 (36% D — 54% R)

Dannemeyer (Inc. — R)	**170,250**	**(76%)**
Ward (D)	53,546	(24%)

Dannemeyer ran slightly ahead of the president in Orange County.

District 40 (32% D — 56% R)

Badham (Inc. — R)	**158,455**	**(64%)**
Bradford (D)	84,622	(34%)
Quirk (P&F)	3,837	(2%)

Badham, on the other hand, ran 10 points behind Reagan-Bush, and although his victory was still substantial, that he did not receive the same whopping margins as his neighboring Orange County Republicans could be a mild rebuke for the man who led all members of Congress in taking taxpayer-financed junkets.

District 41 (40% D — 45% R)

Lowery (Inc. — R)	**156,554**	**(63%)**
Simmons (D)	83,552	(34%)
Baase (L)	7,114	(3%)

Bill Lowery's margin of victory slipped a bit from 1982, while GOP registration improved.

District 42 (39% D — 50% R)

Lungren (Inc. — R)	**171,142**	**(73%)**
Brophy (D)	58,161	(25%)
Donohue (P&F)	5,629	(2%)

A safe district for Lungren.

District 43 (33% D — 54% R)

Packard (Inc. — R)	**159,315**	**(74%)**
Humphreys (D)	49,525	(23%)
Avery (L)	6,608	(3%)

Democrats in this district aren't even in the same league as Republicans.

District 44 (56% D — 30% R)

Bates (Inc. — D)	**97,467**	**(70%)**
Campbell (R)	38,961	(28%)
Conole (L)	3,130	(2%)

Jim Bates' first reelection has solidified his hold on this San Diego district.

District 45 (39% D — 47% R)

Hunter (Inc. — R)	**145,014**	**(75%)**
Guthrie (D)	44,420	(23%)
Wright (L)	3,857	(2%)

This district, which stretches from Arizona to the Pacific, provides poor hunting for Democrats.

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THE SENATE

What promised to be a dull Senate election in 1984 turned out to be just that for most Californians. With 20 races on the ballot, 18 incumbents were reelected to office — most of them overwhelmingly. Thus when the new Senate convenes this month, Democrats will have the same number of members as before — 25 in the 40-member house. Republicans, however, will have increased their strength to 15 after regaining the seat lost when one of their own — Ray Johnson — turned independent in 1983. Only three of the 20 races were close — emphasizing again just how safe the 1982 reapportionment has made most legislative districts.

Two of the close races involved incumbents. In the 1st District, the 73-year-old Johnson became the only incumbent state legislator to lose in the 1984 general election. He was ousted by fellow incumbent John Doolittle, a Republican, in the last civil war wrought by the '82 reapportionment. And like all civil wars, the one in the 1st district was nasty. In the 33rd District, Democrat Paul Carpenter squeaked past Hawaiian Gardens Councilwoman Margaret Vineyard, and did so despite a three-to-one landslide for President Reagan in the Orange County part of his district.

The third close race took place on the peninsula south of San Francisco, where Santa Clara Supervisor Rebecca Morgan, a Republican, defeated former senator and San Mateo Supervisor Arlen Gregorio after a tough, expensive campaign. (Morgan must have set some kind of election record: She beat three former state senators in one year — Marz Garcia and Dan O'Keefe in the June primary and Gregorio in November.)

Morgan joins fellow Republican Marian Bergeson of Newport Beach as the only two newcomers to the Senate. Bergeson, elected to an open seat from the 37th District in Orange County, is no stranger to Sacramento, having served in the Assembly since 1978. Bergeson and Morgan double the number of women in the Senate — from two to four.

The only other race of note was that involving Republican incumbent Milton Marks of San Francisco. Marks, a liberal who has always run well in his Democratic home base, was believed to be in trouble last summer but won in a rout over his Democratic challenger — Lia Belli, wife of attorney Melvin.

District 1 (49% D — 39% R)

Johnson (Inc. — I)	109,596	(41%)
Doolittle (R)	**118,342**	**(44%)**
Hornsby (D)	35,127	(13%)
Murphy (L)	5,676	(2%)

A nasty, million-dollar race where, thanks to reapportionment, two incumbents ended up in the same pit. The 73-year-old Johnson — a former Republican running as an Independent — began ahead in the polls, but Doolittle, 33, gradually chipped away at that lead. The Democratic candidate in the race, Hornsby, was neither well-known nor backed by party leaders, who were giving financial aid to Johnson. As a result, Johnson appeared to be doing well among Democratic voters. But late in the campaign, Doolittle's allies financed a pro-Hornsby mailer that may have drawn enough Democrats away from Johnson to give Doolittle the election. Johnson won where we was well-known, capturing the district's largest voting bloc — Placer County — but only by 700 votes. He also won sparsely-populated rural counties like Trinity, Modoc and Lassen, but it wasn't enough to offset Doolittle's urban base in Sacramento County — the so-called "Doolittle Dip" that was added during the last reapportionment.

District 3 (57% D — 25% R)

Marks (Inc. — R)	**178,247**	**(68%)**
Belli (D)	71,430	(27%)
Pickens (L)	6,104	(2%)
Kangas (P&F)	6,601	(2%)

Many experts thought this would be a closer race. But Belli's effort suffered from disclosures of creative writing in her campaign literature. (It said she had been a cum laude graduate of Maryland and a Fulbright Scholar, when she was neither.) She also failed to get the support of David Roberti, the Democrats' Senate leader, who has counted the liberal Marks as an ally. The district itself was more conservative than in recent years, thanks to additional Marin County territory tacked on during the last reapportionment. Finally, there was Marks himself, an institution in San Francisco, who has always run strong among Democrats.

District 5 (55% D — 35% R)

Garamendi (Inc. — D)	**174,220**	**(69%)**
Saunders (R)	69,558	(28%)
Warner (P&F)	8,021	(3%)

Saunders had no hope of capturing this seat. His campaign generated little excitement and drew little financial support. Garamendi, on the other hand, is a lifelong resident who carried his native San Joaquin County — which accounts for nearly half the votes in this district — three-to-one. The only novelty was that Saunders once played a biker in a Clint Eastwood movie.

District 7 (55% D — 33% R)

Boatwright (Inc. — D)	**178,173**	**(67%)**
Layson (R)	86,313	(33%)

A bright ending to this election season for Boatwright, who earlier this year was embroiled in a conflict-of-interest lawsuit.

District 9 (66% D — 21% R)

Petris (Inc. — D)	**190,461**	**(74%)**
Roust (R)	58,807	(23%)
Kuehn (P&F)	8,616	(3%)

Petris, like fine wine, gets better (at the polls) with age. Roust, who lost big to Petris in 1980, goes into the Once-is-not-Enuf Hall of Fame.

District 11 (46% D — 41% R)

Gregorio (D)	131,907	(47%)
Morgan (R)	**145,781**	**(52%)**
Castronovo (AIP)	4,246	(2%)

On the eve of this election, both sides had the same prediction — Gregorio over Morgan. But the race, which cost in excess of a million dollars, seems to have hinged on which candidate did better on the other's turf. In a district split between two counties — each contributing about 135,000 votes — Santa Clara Supervisor Morgan lost to San Mateo Supervisor Gregorio by 11,000 votes in his county but carried her own by nearly 24,000. Morgan may also have benefited from a long primary fight with former Senators Marz Garcia and Dan O'Keefe, which kept her before the public since the first of the year. Her success was important to the GOP, whose strength would have fallen to 14 had she lost.

District 13 (56% D — 30% R)

Alquist (Inc. — D)	**128,328**	**(65%)**
Smullen (R)	62,527	(32%)
Roberts (L)	7,294	(4%)

At 76, Finance chair Alquist is one of the most powerful men in the Senate.

District 15 (53% D — 39% R)

Vuich (Inc. — D)	**157,753**	**(76%)**
King (R)	50,152	(24%)

A crushing victory for Vuich which showed the emptiness of Cesar Chavez' threats against those who voted for confirmation of ALRB general counsel David Stirling last January.

District 17 (53% D — 33% R)

Mello (Inc. — D)	**144,238**	**(66%)**
Magyar (R)	75,443	(34%)

Mello must be pleased with this victory after narrowly escaping disaster four year ago at the hands of now-Assemblyman Eric Seastrand. He was helped by reapportionment, and it showed.

District 19 (39% D — 50% R)

Davis (Inc. — R)	**193,478**	**(75%)**
Martin (D)	66,321	(25%)

Davis has made no secret of his desire to challenge Alan Cranston come 1986. He's off to a good start, having received more votes than any other candidate for state Senate.

District 21 (37% D — 55% R)

Russell (Inc. — R)	**188,901**	**(75%)**
Moyd (D)	62,757	(25%)

Impossible territory for a Democrat.

District 23 (60% D — 29% R)

Roberti (Inc. — D)	**108,269**	**(65%)**
Russell (R)	49,268	(30%)
Cruz (P&F)	5,512	(3%)
Brown (L)	2,997	(2%)

The Senate's Democratic poobah fared well

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DOOLITTLE

MORGAN

enough at home but suffered some reverses on the road — namely Gregorio in the 11th and Ray Johnson in the 1st. Still, he has a 25-15 majority to work with and faces a governor embarrassed by the failure of the reapportionment initiative (Proposition 39).

District 25 (40% D — 49% R)

Richardson (Inc. — R)	**164,186**	**(67%)**
Monaghan (D)	82,711	(33%)

Thanks to reapportionment, this was basically a new district for Richardson, but he had little trouble making it his own. On other fronts, the Senate's most visible conservative must be pleased with the way things turned out, especially the victory of Doolittle, a former aide.

District 27 (86% D — 9% R)

B. Greene (Inc. — D)	**106,954**	**(88%)**
Neely (R)	14,684	(12%)

Bill Greene ran 30,000 votes ahead of his 1980 pace, which has to be heartening for one reason: It translates into a greater turnout in LA's black community.

District 29 (43% D — 46% R)

Beverly (Inc. — R)	**170,016**	**(70%)**
Distaso (D)	65,639	(27%)
Kelley (L)	4,581	(2%)
Savage (P&F)	4,349	(2%)

Beverly rolls on and on and on.

District 31 (38% D — 52% R)

Campbell (Inc. — R)	**188,224**	**(75%)**
Caress (D)	63,123	(25%)

Bill Campbell, ever popular among his Hacienda Heights constituents, is among the Republicans eyeing a run against Alan Cranston.

District 33 (56% D — 36% R)

Carpenter (Inc. — D)	**105,165**	**(53%)**
Vineyard (R)	91,907	(46%)
Hilfenhaus (P&F)	3,156	(2%)

Paul Carpenter must have felt like a Democratic twig in the midst of a Republican flood, and his performance in Orange County is nothing short of miraculous — he lost it by only 268 votes while running 25 points ahead of Mondale-Ferraro, He was saved, of course, because his district also includes Democratic areas in Los Angeles County.

District 35 (36% D — 53% R)

Seymour (Inc. — R)	**181,370**	**(74%)**
Dudman (D)	55,612	(23%)
Schooling (P&F)	8,050	(3%)

Seymour would like to become GOP leader in the Senate.

District 37 (36% D — 53% R)

Bergeson (R)	**192,348**	**(74%)**
Keyser (D)	68,539	(26%)

Bergeson didn't win this seat at the polls but by outmaneuvering all possible GOP challengers well before the June primary.

District 39 (39% D — 47% R)

Ellis (Inc. — R)	**181,471**	**(72%)**
Finnigan (D)	70,547	(28%)

How much difference can four years make? In 1980 this was a 39 percent GOP district.

THE ASSEMBLY

Ronald Reagan aside, Assembly Speaker Willie Brown was California's big winner in the elections of '84. Not only was he part of the team that defeated Governor Deukmejian's reapportionment measure, Proposition 39, but he led his colleagues to a major victory in the lower House. Despite seemingly close races in several districts, and fears of adverse public reaction to the refusal of Democrats to implement the Gann initiative, not a single Democratic incumbent was defeated. True, Democrats failed to pick up an open seat in the 63rd District, which formerly had been theirs, but that was a relatively minor loss compared to the gloomy projections earlier of what could come.

For Brown, the victories ended all speculation that his grip on the speakership might be loosened this year. It was said that if the governor's reapportionment measure were approved, and if Democrats lost a few seats in the Assembly, then Brown — as the most prominent Democrat in the Legislature — might have to go. But he has proved again that he can raise money for his colleagues ($2.5 million from January 1983 to June 1984) and through his political lieutenant Richie Ross help them run winning campaigns.

Which is not to say that reapportionment played no role. Undoubtedly Brown would have been less successful if Democrats had not drawn protective district boundaries for themselves in 1982. In fact, without reapportionment, Democrats might have suffered an electoral disaster this year. But that matters little now. Republicans can only talk of what might have been, noting that all their candidates for the Assembly received almost as many votes as Democrats received. But the GOP won only 33 of the Assembly's 80 seats.

Not that Republicans didn't try. They pumped a lot of money and resources into attempts to skewer six so-called "targeted" Democrats, but every arrow went awry. The "targets" were Dan Hauser (2nd), Jean Moorhead (5th), Pat Johnston (26th), Jack O'Connell (35th), Steve Clute (68th) and Richard Robinson (72nd). Democrats had their own targets (Dom Sebastiani, Don Rogers and William Filante) who also won reelection. Some races proved uncomfortably close (Robinson, for instance, won by only 256 votes; Moorhead by 1700), but most incumbents skated to reelection by margins of two-to-one.

The biggest Assembly loser was Robert Naylor. He decided not to seek reelection as minority leader and was replaced after the election by Patrick Nolan of Glendale. Ostensibly, Naylor wanted to explore a run for the U.S. Senate, but Nolan had been trying to oust him for three years and probably had the votes to do it this time around. (If Naylor had run, he surely would have suffered from the fact that he, as Republican leader, hadn't been able to unseat a single Democratic incumbent.) Nolan's ascension places conservatives firmly in charge of GOP leadership in both houses of the Legislature.

District 1 (51% D — 38% R)

Statham (Inc. — R)	**109,306**	**(100%)**

GOP registration has slipped of late, but Statham, unopposed, rolls on.

District 2 (56% D — 30% R)

Hauser (Inc. — D)	**72,114**	**(52%)**
Walsh (R)	65,430	(48%)

Republicans went after freshman Hauser with a barrel of money and a campaign that tried to paint him as a puppet of Speaker Willie Brown. But a sizeable war chest, aggressive Democratic registration drive and the loyalty of Democratic voters saved Hauser. The swing vote in this district comes from Sonoma County, and that's where the incumbent won big — by 4000 votes. He also won Humboldt County, where Walsh is a supervisor.

District 3 (47% D — 41% R)

Herger (Inc. — R)	**88,853**	**(71%)**
King (D)	36,585	(29%)

Herger's grip on this valley-mountain district has solidified. Two years ago, his victory margin was 17,000; this year, 52,000.

District 4 (57% D — 30% R)

Hannigan (Inc. — D)	**84,165**	**(71%)**
Barnes (R)	33,952	(29%)

Hannigan has been prominently mentioned as possible successor to Speaker Willie Brown, some day.

District 5 (51% D — 37% R)

Moorhead (Inc. — D)	**68,537**	**(49%)**
Leslie (R)	66,855	(48%)
Carr (L)	4,246	(3%)

A donnybrook splattered with plenty of mud. The GOP wanted desperately to knock off Moor-

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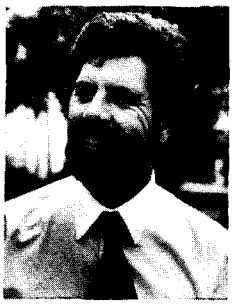
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head, who was once one of their own. Thus, they invested heavily in Leslie, gained two points of registration — while the Dems lost two — and still fell short. One reason could be that Leslie's anti-Moorhead strategy failed to give voters an impression of Leslie himself. Also, this was one of those campaigns in which the Democrat portrayed herself as a friend of Governor Deukmejian, thereby perhaps picking up votes that might have gone the other way.

District 6 (57% D — 32% R)

Connelly (Inc. — D)	**92,926**	**(100%)**

The Journal's *Rookie-of-the-Year has the distinction of having the first declared opponent for 1986 — Jerry Stiles of Rancho Cordova.*

District 7 (51% D — 37% R)

N. Waters (Inc. — D)	**95,410**	**(68%)**
Head (R)	44,094	(32%)

Head called Waters a "wimp," but voters either disagreed or liked wimps.

District 8 (53% D — 37% R)

Sebastiani (Inc. — R)	**73,749**	**(52%)**
Jadiker (D)	68,339	(48%)

The Assembly's premier gadfly squeaked through. Jadiker won in Lake and Sonoma counties but not by enough to offset Sebastiani's 5000-vote margin in Napa County.

District 9 (51% D — 34% R)

Filante (Inc. — R)	**81,723**	**(57%)**
Chignell (D)	62,873	(44%)

The Democrats thought they had a real shot at Filante, but he won a surprisingly comfortable decision over Chignell, a San Francisco police inspector whom Filante also defeated in 1982. His margin of victory this time improved by some 5000 votes despite growing Democratic registration in the district. Chignell also may have been hurt by his association with a police union in San Francisco — something that may not sit well in Republican Marin County.

District 10 (58% D — 32% R)

Isenberg (Inc. — D)	**96,590**	**(100%)**

The former mayor of Sacramento is secure in this Delta district.

District 11 (66% D — 23% R)

Campbell (Inc. — D)	**93,329**	**(100%)**

For the second time, Campbell drew no GOP opponent.

District 12 (62% D — 24% R)

Bates (Inc. — D)	**128,968**	**(89%)**
Foldvary (L)	10,756	(7%)
Shireman (P&F)	5,956	(4%)

A yawner for Bates.

District 13 (74% D — 15% R)

Harris (Inc. — D)	**85,188**	**(100%)**

Most of the attention in this part of Oakland focused on Ron Dellums' congressional race.

District 14 (63% D — 25% R)

Klehs (Inc. — D)	**78,871**	**(69%)**
Bergondy (R)	34,975	(31%)

Two years ago, Ann Duncan came within 10,000 votes of Klehs — and that's about as close as any Republican is going to get.

District 15 (38% D — 50% R)

Baker (Inc. — R)	**104,397**	**(71%)**
Bauer (D)	42,627	(29%)

With Pat Nolan as Assembly minority leader, Baker — the lone East Bay Republican — became vice-chair of Ways and Means.

District 16 (69% D — 14% R)

Agnos (Inc. — D)	**80,373**	**(82%)**
Woods (R)	17,559	(18%)

Agnos continues to pile up impressive election victories.

District 17 (63% D — 19% R)

W. Brown (Inc. — D)	**91,899**	**(70%)**
Dolson (R)	39,039	(30%)

The November election proved a great victory for Speaker Brown — but hardly because he won his district race against Dolson, a former San Francisco supervisor.

District 18 (55% D — 30% R)

McAlister (Inc. — D)	**63,966**	**(63%)**
Mehan (R)	32,471	(32%)
Webster (L)	4,403	(4%)

Republicans gained registration of late — but not enough to dent McAlister's armor.

District 19 (61% D — 26% R)

Papan (Inc. — D)	**67,018**	**(66%)**
Silvestri (R)	34,796	(34%)

Papan's next big victory could come in court — if Proposition 24 is declared unconstitutional and Papan stays as chairman of Rules.

District 20 (45% D — 42% R)

Naylor (Inc. — R)	**94,190**	**(70%)**
Lepore (D)	40,845	(30%)

His 54,000-vote majority may have been cold comfort for Naylor, who was a big loser in 1984. Bowing to the inevitable, he announced in late October that he would not seek reelection as minority leader for the coming session. Then, in his last days on the job, he presided over a disastrous election in which his operatives failed to unseat one targeted Democrat and his opponents solidified their hold on the party's caucus.

District 21 (53% D — 31% R)

Sher (Inc. — D)	**76,948**	**(67%)**
Wingrove (R)	33,472	(29%)
Parlette (L)	2,865	(3%)
DeSio (P&F)	1,584	(1%)

Sher's victory was sure.

District 22 (42% D — 45% R)

Konnyu (Inc. — R)	**85,309**	**(63%)**
Ott (D)	47,800	(35%)
Fleisher (L)	3,158	(2%)

For the second election in a row, an aggressive write-in candidate surfaced, but this Santa Clara district is just too Republican.

District 23 (62% D — 25% R)

Vasconcellos (Inc. — D)	**75,430**	**(88%)**
De Amicis (L)	10,568	(12%)

Vasconcellos, who underwent heart by-pass surgery in August, was little taxed by this election.

District 24 (55% D — 32% R)

Cortese (Inc. — D)	**65,797**	**(63%)**
Sandoval (R)	38,038	(37%)

Teacher Jack Sandoval got 13,000 more votes this year than he did against Cortese in 1982. Of course, Cortese got 15,000 more.

District 25 (54% D — 34% R)

Areias (Inc. — D)	**80,385**	**(92%)**
Hinkle (L)	7,354	(8%)

This year, not even a write-in materialized against Areias. But if the GOP continues to gain registration, that won't happen again.

District 26 (57% D — 33% R)

Johnston (Inc. — D)	**63,973**	**(57%)**
Wilhoit (R)	47,954	(43%)

Republicans had high hopes that Wilhoit, a San Joaquin County supervisor, could capture this seat — and they poured a lot of money and resources into his effort. But Wilhoit suffered from what one insider called an ineffective campaign that never really jelled, as a result, he never overcame voter perception of Johnston as a decent, hard-working legislator.

District 27 (54% D — 36% R)

Condit (Inc. — D)	**79,874**	**(100%)**

This could be a marginal district where Republicans have gained registration of late. Yet they couldn't come up with a solid contender for Gary Condit — now about to serve his second term.

District 28 (53% D — 32% R)

Farr (Inc. — D)	**91,506**	**(73%)**
Rate (R)	33,908	(27%)

Walter Mondale carried Santa Cruz County, thanks to Sam Farr's coattails.

District 29 (42% D — 46% R)

Seastrand (Inc. — R)	**87,313**	**(71%)**
Langford (D)	35,756	(29%)

An overwhelming Republican district where Langford's campaign was further hamstrung by her inability to get tough with Seastrand, who is battling cancer.

District 30 (61% D — 29% R)

Costa (Inc. — D)	**54,298**	**(70%)**
Kennedy (R)	23,382	(30%)

The big Republican challenge to Costa never got off the ground.

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ROGERS

O'CONNELL

District 31 (58% D — 34% R)

Bronzan (Inc. — D)	**65,756**	**(63%)**
Farrington (R)	38,020	(37%)

The GOP has made substantial registration gains in this Fresno district since last spring. But Bronzan ran ahead of his 1982 vote, anyway.

District 32 (47% D — 44% R)

Jones (Inc. — R)	**82,510**	**(75%)**
Dahlstedt (D)	27,668	(25%)

A decisive victory for Jones, who will represent this mountainous, rural district for years to come.

District 33 (55% D — 37% R)

Rogers (Inc. — R)	**54,860**	**(60%)**
Tackett (D)	36,892	(40%)

Finally, after years of struggle, this district appears to be safe for Don Rogers. The Democrats thought they could ambush him and made a lot of pre-election noise about pumping in money and resources. But Rogers ran a strong campaign, including a successful registration drive that cut into the Democrats' advantage. He even won 61 percent of the vote in Kern County, where Democrat Gene Tackett is a supervisor.

District 34 (47% D — 44% R)

Wyman (Inc. — R)	**78,354**	**(66%)**
O'Connor (D)	39,831	(34%)

GOP registration gains were substantial between May and October — over four points. As though Wyman needed the help.

District 35 (50% D — 36% R)

O'Connell (Inc. — D)	**75,710**	**(61%)**
Carpenter (R)	48,799	(39%)

Jack O'Connell proved that hard work was worth more than a huge influx of money. Republicans thought they could dump first-termer O'Connell and recruited the popular Santa Barbara sheriff to carry their mantle. But beginning back in January, O'Connell walked precincts every weekend and that, plus effective work on issues, solidified his hold on what is traditionally a marginal district.

District 36 (40% D — 48% R)

McClintock (Inc. — R)	**90,536**	**(71%)**
Jolicoeur (D)	36,222	(29%)

McClintock had a squeaker in his first race two years ago but this time blew away the opposition — a write-in.

District 37 (40% D — 49% R)

Wright (Inc. — R)	**102,787**	**(100%)**

Democrats by-passed this GOP fortress.

District 38 (43% D — 47% R)

LaFollette (Inc. — R)	**81,241**	**(66%)**
Nelson (D)	42,194	(34%)

A solid win for Marian LaFollette, whose northeast Los Angeles County district is now even more Republican.

District 39 (57% D — 34% R)

Katz (Inc. — D)	**47,097**	**(54%)**
Thoreson (R)	39,922	(46%)

A tough race for Richard Katz, whose San Fernando Valley district is becoming more conservative — and more Republican thanks to an active registration program. Thoreson, a Los Angeles police detective, ran an effective, grass-roots campaign, and Katz can probably look forward to a steady drum-beat of GOP challenges.

District 40 (56% D — 34% R)

Bane (Inc. — D)	**69,336**	**(67%)**
Gabriel (R)	32,153	(31%)
Bull (L)	1,595	(2%)

Bane's margin of victory slipped a bit from 1982, but not enough to spell trouble ahead.

District 41 (41% D — 51% R)

Nolan (Inc. — R)	**79,168**	**(70%)**
Vollbrecht (D)	31,603	(28%)
Gerringer (L)	3,123	(3%)

The election was almost anti-climactic for Pat Nolan, who the week before sewed-up Assembly minority leader (see District 20 above). Nolan's ascension provides an interesting twist involving the Legislature's present GOP leadership — he and Senate Minority Leader Jim Nielsen — both supported Mike Curb against George Deukmejian in the 1982 gubernatorial primary.

District 42 (40% D — 51% R)

Mountjoy (Inc. — R)	**80,057**	**(72%)**
Smith (D)	31,252	(28%)

Mountjoy, who crushed Smith by 40,000 votes in 1982, increased his victory margin. Still, he was something of a loser, having been replaced as caucus chairman by Gerald Felando.

District 43 (55% D — 35% R)

Davis (Inc. — D)	**85,079**	**(64%)**
Malouf (R)	45,082	(34%)
Rhodes (L)	2,743	(2%)

The only question is: How long will Davis stay in the Assembly?

District 44 (59% D — 30% R)

Hayden (Inc. — D)	**62,232**	**(53%)**
Shell (R)	50,911	(43%)
Donner (L)	3,301	(3%)
Sommer (P&F)	1,353	(1%)

A bit of campaign irony: Hayden, considered a hero to the 1960s drug culture, disclosed that his opponent had had a drug problem while in the Air Force during that same decade. Shell called the revelations "irrelevant" and questioned how Hayden obtained supposedly private military records. The campaign didn't cost nearly the record $3.3 million that Hayden and Bill Hawkins spent in 1982, and although Hayden won comfortably, he ran behind Democratic registration for the second time.

District 45 (60% D — 29% R)

Margolin (Inc. — D)	**67,193**	**(63%)**
Jelmert (R)	32,830	(31%)
Abrahams (L)	2,196	(2%)
Johnstone (P&F)	3,856	(4%)

Margolin, the Assembly's version of Woody Allen, has a lock on this Hollywood district.

District 46 (60% D — 27% R)

Roos (Inc. — D)	**31,784**	**(69%)**
Knoll (R)	12,342	(27%)
Bates (L)	753	(2%)
O'Brien (P&F)	1,409	(3%)

Roos, the Assembly floor leader, ran as strong this year as in 1982 — despite reports that linked him financially with Orange County fireworks magnate W. Patrick Moriarty, under indictment by a federal grand jury.

District 47 (84% D — 10% R)

Hughes (Inc. — D)	**43,599**	**(87%)**
Sanderson (R)	6,437	(13%)

You wonder why the Republicans bother.

District 48 (85% D — 9% R)

M. Waters (Inc. — D)	**58,545**	**(86%)**
Weiss (R)	9,663	(14%)

The Republican ran ahead of registration.

District 49 (73% D — 18% R)

Moore (Inc. — D)	**79,002**	**(76%)**
Daniels (R)	24,675	(24%)

Daniels' vote tally improved by two percent over 1982. At this rate, he'll overtake Moore in the year 3004.

District 50 (77% D — 16% R)

Tucker (Inc. — D)	**68,923**	**(80%)**
Coleman (R)	17,599	(20%)

Tucker tucked this away without much effort.

District 51 (39% D — 50% R)

Felando (Inc. — R)	**89,145**	**(69%)**
Tate (D)	37,155	(29%)
Gilmore (L)	3,832	(3%)

The outcome was never in doubt — only the size of Felando's victory over Tate, the mother of slain actress Sharon Tate and a law-and-order Democrat. Felando actually ran ahead of his 1982 vote and now becomes caucus chairman.

District 52 (45% D — 46% R)

Hill (Inc. — R)	**73,679**	**(70%)**
Arguello (D)	31,440	(30%)

The Democrat had an impossible hill to climb.

District 53 (60% D — 29% R)

Floyd (Inc. — D)	**48,061**	**(59%)**
Mueller (R)	33,410	(41%)

Floyd's margin of victory over Mueller in 1984 was four percentage points lower than in 1982 — and that reflects exactly GOP gains and Democratic losses in voter registration.

District 54 (66% D — 26% R)

Vicencia (Inc. — D)	**56,361**	**(65%)**
Decker (R)	30,614	(35%)

This is blue-collar, Democratic territory and a playground for Vicencia.

District 55 (69% D — 21% R)

Alatorre (Inc. — D)	**42,642**	**(71%)**
Marsh (R)	15,942	(26%)
Rubin (L)	1,856	(3%)

It is highly doubtful that anyone named "Marsh" will ever win in this heavily Hispanic district.

District 56 (79% D — 12% R)

Molina (Inc. — D)	**26,404**	**(82%)**
Hyde (R)	5,901	(18%)

The astounding aspect of this race is the extremely low vote totals.

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GRISHAM

EAVES

FERGUSON

ROBINSON

District 57 (63% D — 27% R)

Elder (Inc. — D)	**47,134**	**(66%)**
Inocentes (R)	22,452	(31%)
Gundersheimer (P&F)	1,931	(3%)

The Democratic part of Long Beach.

District 58 (42% D — 47% R)

D. Brown (Inc. — R)	**85,415**	**(65%)**
Wilder (D)	40,535	(31%)
Michel (P&F)	5,151	(4%)

Wilder, a local councilman, held Brown to just 60 percent of the vote in Long Beach. But the dam broke in Orange County, where Brown mustered over 70 percent.

District 59 (65% D — 26% R)

Calderon (Inc. — D)	**54,502**	**(67%)**
Kee (R)	26,356	(33%)

Easy going again for Calderon.

District 60 (62% D — 30% R)

Tanner (Inc. — D)	**43,774**	**(68%)**
Van Note (R)	21,073	(33%)

Van Note, drubbed by Tanner in 1982, ran a more aggressive campaign this time but fared little better at the polls.

District 61 (42% D — 47% R)

Leonard (Inc. — R)	**83,473**	**(69%)**
Kossman (D)	31,484	(26%)
Hart (AIP)	5,830	(5%)

Leonard was something of a loser this election season, despite those impressive numbers. Part of the Naylor leadership team, he was dumped as vice-chair of Ways and Means and replaced by William Baker. Rumor has it that Leonard may take a shot at State Controller Ken Cory come 1986.

District 62 (43% D — 48% R)

Lancaster (Inc. — R)	**81,147**	**(70%)**
Santell (D)	30,235	(26%)
McConnaghy (L)	4,914	(4%)

This marks Lancaster's seventh term, making him senior Republican in the Assembly. He beat Santell by 37,000 votes in 1982.

District 63 (60% D — 32% R)

Grisham (R)	**51,903**	**(55%)**
Xitco (D)	42,195	(45%)

More than $1.5 million was spent for this race — the only loss for Assembly Democrats in 1984. Basically blue-collar and conservative, it has been held in the Democratic column for eight years thanks to the popularity of the since-retired Bruce Young. But this year, the Democrats just had too many strikes against them. First, Grisham represented much of this district in Congress for several terms and fits it like a second skin. Also, GOP registration was up two points since June, while Democratic registration was off one point. Finally, district voters were subjected to a Republican blitz, led by President Reagan and congressional candidate Bob Dornan, whose 38th District overlaps the 63rd.

District 64 (38% D — 52% R)

Johnson (Inc. — R)	**84,078**	**(70%)**
Capdevielle (D)	35,527	(30%)

Despite the numbers, Ross Johnson fared poorly, having been the sponsor of two initiatives — Props 40 and 41 — rejected by voters 2-to-1.

District 65 (44% D — 45% R)

Bader (Inc. — R)	**69,165**	**(68%)**
Jackson (D)	33,169	(32%)

Bader, helped immensely by reapportionment, had an easy reelection.

District 66 (60% D — 29% R)

Eaves (D)	**51,785**	**(56%)**
Henley (R)	39,003	(42%)
Louks (P&F)	1,692	(2%)

Eaves won this race in the primary when he knocked off incumbent Terry Goggin. The GOP seems to have given up after that upset.

District 67 (33% D — 57% R)

Lewis (Inc. — R)	**87,715**	**(73%)**
Anderson (D)	27,358	(23%)
Abercrombie (P&F)	5,263	(4%)

Solid Republican territory in Orange County.

District 68 (53% D — 36% R)

Clute (Inc. — D)	**58,847**	**(53%)**
Olivarria (R)	53,211	(48%)

Another disappointment for Assembly Republicans, who figured Clute for a fall from this conservative Democratic district in Riverside County. They gave plenty of help to Olivarria, a Riverside police lieutenant, and made impressive registration gains of late. But Clute, who ran an aggressive campaign, was seen as a good lawmaker, and Olivarria gave them no reason for a change.

District 69 (36% D — 52% R)

Frizzelle (Inc. — R)	**90,384**	**(71%)**
Gensler (D)	37,187	(29%)

Frizzelle has a comfortable home in this district, nestled around Irvine.

District 70 (29% D — 60% R)

Feldman (D)	40,874	(28%)
Ferguson (R)	**107,403**	**(72%)**

Ferguson won this seat in a very expensive, four-way primary for the seat vacated by now-Senator Marian Bergeson. Supported in that effort by Pat Nolan, he became caucus secretary before ever being sworn in as a member of the Assembly.

District 71 (45% D — 45% R)

Allen (Inc. — R)	**76,128**	**(67%)**
Kanel (D)	37,736	(33%)

A potential tough fight from Kanel never materialized for Allen, who is now solid here.

District 72 (52% D — 36% R)

Robinson (Inc. — D)	**36,027**	**(50%)**
Longshore (R)	35,601	(50%)

All things considered, it hasn't been a good political year for Dick Robinson. He was ousted as caucus chair by Willie Brown, lost oodles of registration points to the GOP and faced an expensive reelection as a Democrat from Orange County. Ronald Reagan carried 75 percent of the vote in this district, yet Robinson squeaked through. In the end, he may have survived because he is a tough campaigner and his Republican challenger was a 1982 rerun who generated little excitement.

District 73 (43% D — 46% R)

Kelley (Inc. — R)	**90,606**	**(68%)**
Lopez (D)	42,645	(32%)

This district, which includes Palm Springs, is a desert for Democrats.

District 74 (34% D — 52% R)

Frazee (Inc. — R)	**85,318**	**(74%)**
Ramos (D)	29,831	(26%)

Running against Frazee in this Orange and San Diego County district is like wandering alone through a hostile wilderness.

District 75 (35% D — 49% R)

Mojonnier (Inc. — R)	**95,432**	**(72%)**
Wildman (D)	38,104	(29%)

A sunny reelection for Mojonnier.

District 76 (35% D — 52% R)

Bradley (Inc. — R)	**101,135**	**(77%)**
Polesetsky (D)	29,665	(23%)

Unlike his namesake in New Jersey, this Bill Bradley is a staunch conservative whose tenure in Sacramento should stretch well into the future.

District 77 (39% D — 48% R)

Stirling (Inc. — R)	**106,092**	**(100%)**

Stirling ran unopposed — again.

District 78 (46% D — 39% R)

Killea (Inc. — D)	**81,510**	**(66%)**
Boarman (R)	39,058	(32%)
Sands (L)	3,357	(3%)

Republicans tried very hard in this San Diego district. They improved their registration by three percent and ran an aggressive campaign with a popular county supervisor. But Killea, a former vice-mayor of San Diego, is a local legend who ran 20 points ahead of registration.

District 79 (57% D — 27% R)

Chacon (Inc. — D)	**51,651**	**(67%)**
Gissendanner (R)	22,669	(29%)
Tello (L)	2,669	(4%)

The Black and Hispanic portions of San Diego are solidly Democratic for Peter Chacon.

District 80 (52% D — 36% R)

Peace (Inc. — D)	**65,699**	**(100%)**

GOP registration has been gaining of late, so don't look for Peace to skate unopposed again. He did it this year through a series of flukes.

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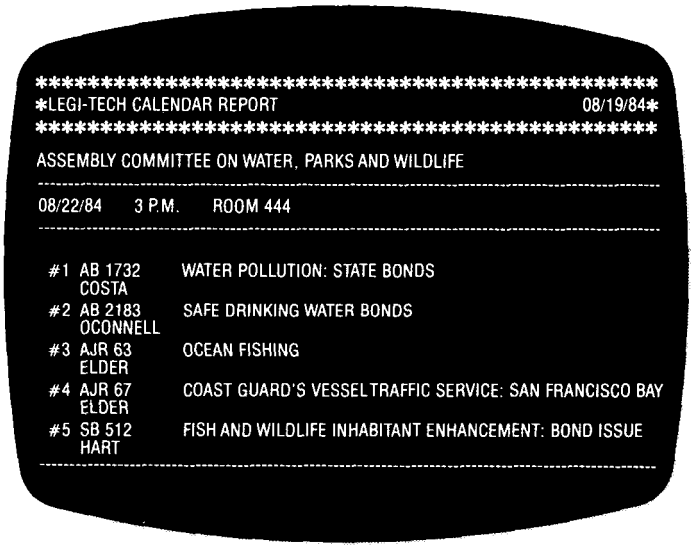

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ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE ON WATER, PARKS AND WILDLIFE

08/22/84 3 P.M. ROOM 444

#1	AB 1732 COSTA	WATER POLLUTION: STATE BONDS
#2	AB 2183 OCONNELL	SAFE DRINKING WATER BONDS
#3	AJR 63 ELDER	OCEAN FISHING
#4	AJR 67 ELDER	COAST GUARD'S VESSEL TRAFFIC SERVICE: SAN FRANCISCO BAY
#5	SB 512 HART	FISH AND WILDLIFE INHABITANT ENHANCEMENT: BOND ISSUE

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A tree-by-tree compromise for 1.8 million acres

By JAMES R. CARROLL

It was Friday afternoon when word arrived on Capitol Hill. There would be no ceremony, no razzmatazz media event in the Rose Garden. Just a simple signature. Such was the anticlimactic, almost invisible finish to a classic California environmental battle that had raged for five years and on both coasts. President Ronald Reagan on that last Friday in September scrawled his name on a bill that gave California 1.8 million new acres of protected wilderness.

Although the president's signature had been anticipated, no one could be sure. After all, the bill was opposed by a variety of business interests in Reagan's home state, not to mention that Governor George Deukmejian also was against it. On the other hand, the Reagan administration has been accused of having an environmental policy that is to the environment what hand grenades are to landscaping. Thus, with an election near, some Republicans — including California Senator Pete Wilson — were privately urging the president to reconstruct his environmental credentials by signing the bill.

The result was something of a compromise. Supporters got a signature but opponents did not have their noses rubbed in the dirt.

Basically, the California wilderness bill was one skirmish in the on-going war between environmentalists and developers over how much National Forest land should be preserved as wilderness. Both sides say that some land should be set aside but disagree over how much — developers want less; environmentalists, more. At the heart of the conflict is the concept of "multiple use" — using the land for a variety of activities such as logging, mining, building ski resorts and jeep tracks, as well as for hiking and camping. However, once Congress designates a tract of land as "wilderness," it must be preserved in its natural state (see box).

Burton's bill

That the California wilderness bill got to the president at all was a formidable achievement and a potent civics lesson on at least one point: A single senator can indeed make a difference. S. I. Hayakawa, in his single term in the United States Senate, wouldn't even talk about the idea of protecting additional unspoiled expanses from future development.

Hayakawa's successor, fellow Republican Wilson, came at the wilderness issue as if possessed by the spirit of John Muir himself, or at least of Smokey the Bear. Not too many days after he succeeded Hayakawa in January 1983, Wilson let it be known he would make the resolution of a five-year deadlock over California wilderness one of his top priorities.

James Carroll is Washington correspondent for Knight-Ridder Newspapers.

The impasse dated back to the days of the Carter administration, which originally proposed a wilderness plan for California that designated 1.2 million acres of National Forest land as wilderness. The late Democratic Congressman Phillip Burton of San Francisco tried to push the plan through Congress but was stymied by Hayakawa's intransigence. Nevertheless, the Carter plan was subsequently agreed to by the Reagan administration.

Last year, not long before his death, Burton convinced the House to go along with a more ambitious plan to double the size of the new wilderness areas to 2.4 million acres. While environmental organizations like the Sierra Club were ecstatic, realists in Congress knew there would have to be a compromise involving fewer acres. The chances for such a compromise looked good with Hayakawa gone and Wilson apparently willing to deal.

The atmosphere also improved this spring with the settlement of another stalemate. After the GOP took control of the U.S. Senate in 1981, the chairmanship of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee fell to Republican James McClure of Idaho. This year, McClure authored a wilderness bill for his home state that environmentalists, including Idaho's Democratic governor, claimed was overly generous to developers. As a result, McClure's bill stalled in a Democrat-controlled House subcommittee on public lands. To help his own bill get through the House, McClure held California's wilderness proposal (and others) hostage in his Senate committee. In May, however, McClure, sensing that the hostage ploy would not work, agreed to free up the bills before his committee in exchange for assurances that the Forest Service would slow the process for recommending new wilderness areas, especially in Idaho.

Back in their corner, Wilson and California's Democratic senator, Alan Cranston, hammered out the 1.8 million-acre compromise wilderness proposal after bargaining, in Cranston's words, "tree by tree." The senators also rounded up backing for their plan from two-thirds of the state's House delegation — Republicans and Democrats alike. Curiously, the Deukmejian administration, after joining with the California Chamber of Commerce and other business interests to oppose the wilderness compromise, fell strangely quiet and lifted not one finger to lobby against the measure when it faced its toughest test in the Senate in early August. One reason for that silence, according to Capitol Hill sources, was that the Reagan administration — through Interior Secretary William Clark — let the governor's representatives in Washington know the compromise was acceptable to the White House.

Two unique features

In its final form, the California wilderness bill took on two additional and unique features: It established a 66,000-acre Mono Lake National Forest Scenic Area and protected 83 miles of the raging Tuolumne River, granting it "wild and scenic river" status (see box). When Wilson first inserted the Tuolumne in the compromise proposal, environ-

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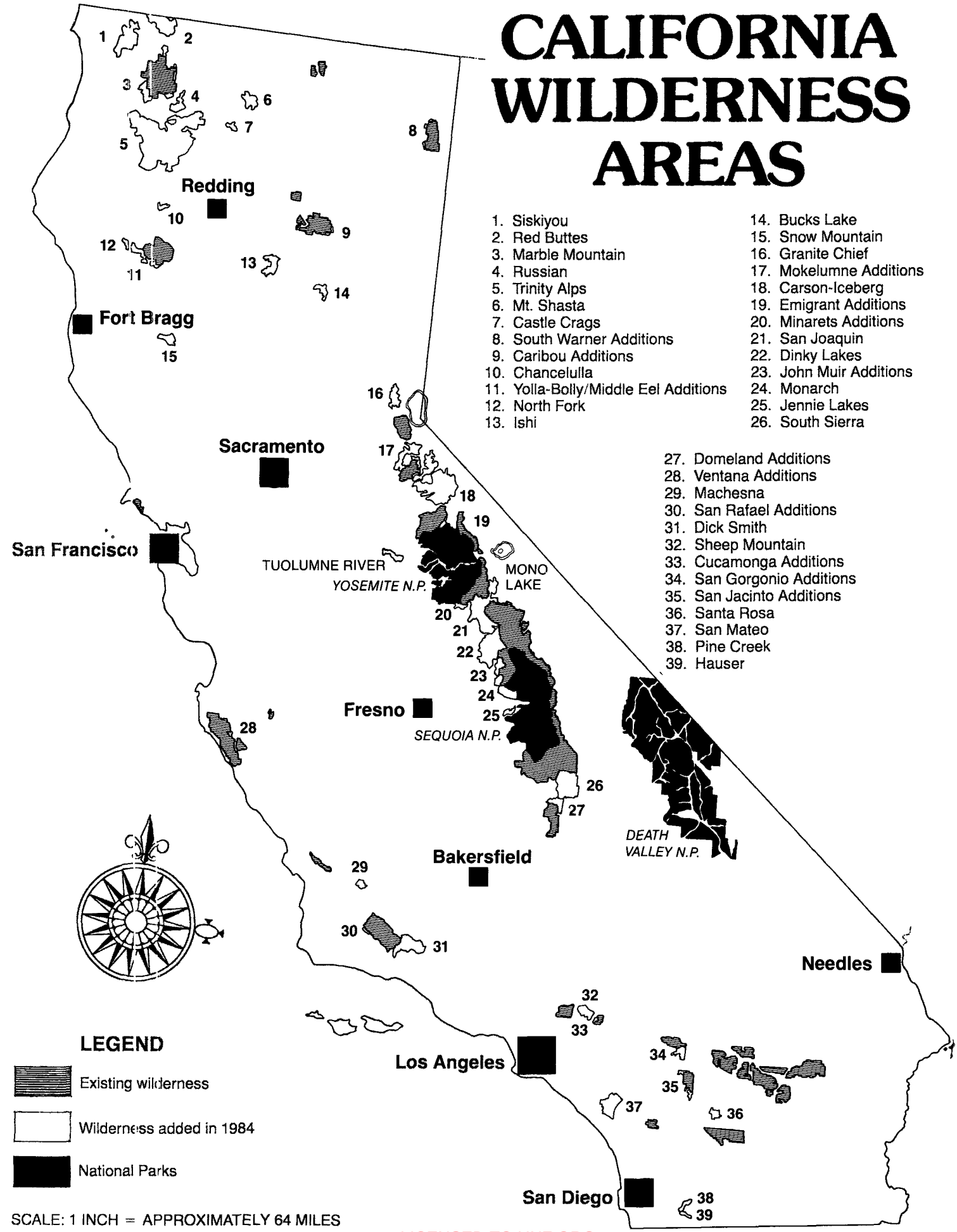

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mental groups throught it was a sure bet the senator had sabotaged the bill. Farm interests, led in Congress by Democratic Congressman Tony Coelho of Fresno, had wanted to tap parts of the upper Tuolumne for power and irrigation, plans which led to fears among conservation groups that the river might be dammed. Coelho had vowed to "educate freshman senators" (meaning Wilson) and defeat the Tuolumne proposal (see "Feud over a river," *CJ*, June 1984). But in the end, even Coelho voted for the bill, although he has yet to give a public explanation for what must have been an embarrassing education by a freshman senator of a veteran House member.

As they rounded up support for their compromise, Cranston and Wilson at every opportunity were quick to point out that business would benefit from their proposal. For more than five years, the senators pointed out, the future had been uncertain for some 6.2 million acres of undeveloped National Forest lands eligible for protection under the original 1964 Wilderness Act. A 1979 court decree had halted dozens of development projects, ranging from mining operations to off-road vehicle trails to ski resorts. With the compromise, better than four million acres now not designated as wilderness would be open to development.

But the Chamber of Commerce, the California Farm Bureau Federation, the Western Timber Association and others, insisting on the original 1.2-million-acre administration plan, called the Cranston-Wilson compromise "an unprecedented 'lock-up' of federal land resources in California." They argued that even the administration plan "will sacrifice 60 million board feet of timber production every year." And they worried that setting aside more land for further study as potential wilderness "could place more roadless land in limbo than it would release for multiple use."

But the wilderness steamroller was moving, and some interesting allies jumped aboard. The Wickes Companies, which has lumber operations, and Crown-Zellerbach Corporation, a paper manufacturer, sent letters of support, as did Charles Lynch, chairman of the California Roundtable, an influential business group, who called the compromise "progressive" and "useful." There was also broad support in the press, including the *Eureka Times-Standard* in the heart of the timber country.

Although the California bill was but one of 19 wilderness measures that successfully wended their way through Congress this year, it contained the largest amount of new wilderness for any single state save Alaska since passage of the 1964 Wilderness Act.

"This is *the* conservation vote of the 98th Congress," declared Democrat John Seiberling of Ohio, chairman of a House subcommittee on public lands and National Parks. Russ Shay of the Sierra Club called the bill "a priceless gift the Congress has given future generations." Patti Hedge of The Wilderness Society dubbed it "the crown jewel" of all the wilderness bills.

For many of the members of the California congressional delegation who had worked with Burton, the triumph had a personal poignancy. The bill "is a fitting memorial to Phil Burton," said Cranston, who gave Burton's widow and successor, Sala Burton, a red rose after the House vote. And, during their victory press conference, a handful of California members eagerly agreed they would be happy to cosponsor a bill in the next session to name a wilderness area after their late colleague.

If the victory for environmentalists has what they might view as a down side, it is that it might be several years before another comparable amount of land may be given wilderness protection. Under the agreement struck in the Republican-controlled Senate, roadless forest areas not designated as federal wilderness this time around will not be studied for wilderness protection for at least 10 years and perhaps as long as 15 years. Meanwhile, they may be developed under certain conditions.

But the agreement is not iron-clad. The bill allows a study to begin immediately on nearly two million California acres. Also, some of the wilderness areas that were dropped from Burton's 2.4-million-acre package to reach the 1.8-million-acre compromise may be reconsidered on a piece-by-piece basis in coming congressional sessions. "It won't be anything colossal," said a hopeful Tim Mahoney of the Sierra Club, "but I don't think you'll see the wilderness faucet stop." But the big wilderness fights, he acknowledged, are probably over for a while.

Major provisions of the 1984 California wilderness bill (HR1437):

— Designates 1.8 million acres of National Forest land as wilderness. Previously, this acreage could be leased by the federal government to private industry for livestock grazing, mining, logging, skiing and other activities. Now, however, it must be left in its natural state. Grazing, horseback riding, hunting, camping and hiking are permitted. (Some mining or other activities, which pre-date the wilderness designation in certain areas, can continue under grandfather clauses.)

— Designates 1.4 million acres of National Park land as wilderness. This acreage was not in dispute because private development is already banned in National Parks. Previously, the government itself could build tourist-related facilities like highways, access roads, visitors' centers, hotels and restaurants on the land. Under wilderness status, even those facilities are prohibited.

— Establishes the Mono Lake National Forest Scenic Area, a 66,000-acre preserve around Mono Lake, an environmentally sensitive body of water in Mono County. Previously, timber harvesting was allowed in the area, as was grazing and development of private lands that rim the lake. The bill bans timbering as well as new development. Grazing may continue, and existing homes may be replaced if destroyed. The Los Angeles Department of Water, which can divert fresh water from streams that feed the lake, keeps its water rights.

— Grants "wild and scenic" river status to an 83-mile stretch of the Tuolumne River. This means that no development — like a dam — is permitted, although white-water rafting may continue. San Francisco's water rights remain intact. O'Shaugnessy Dam and Hetch Hetchy Reservoir are not included in the 83-mile stretch, nor does the bill stop development along tributaries of the Tuolumne. (The bill also does not deal with whether San Francisco can raise the level of O'Shaugnessy Dam, thus enlarging the size of the reservoir. That is a question that may have to be decided in court.)

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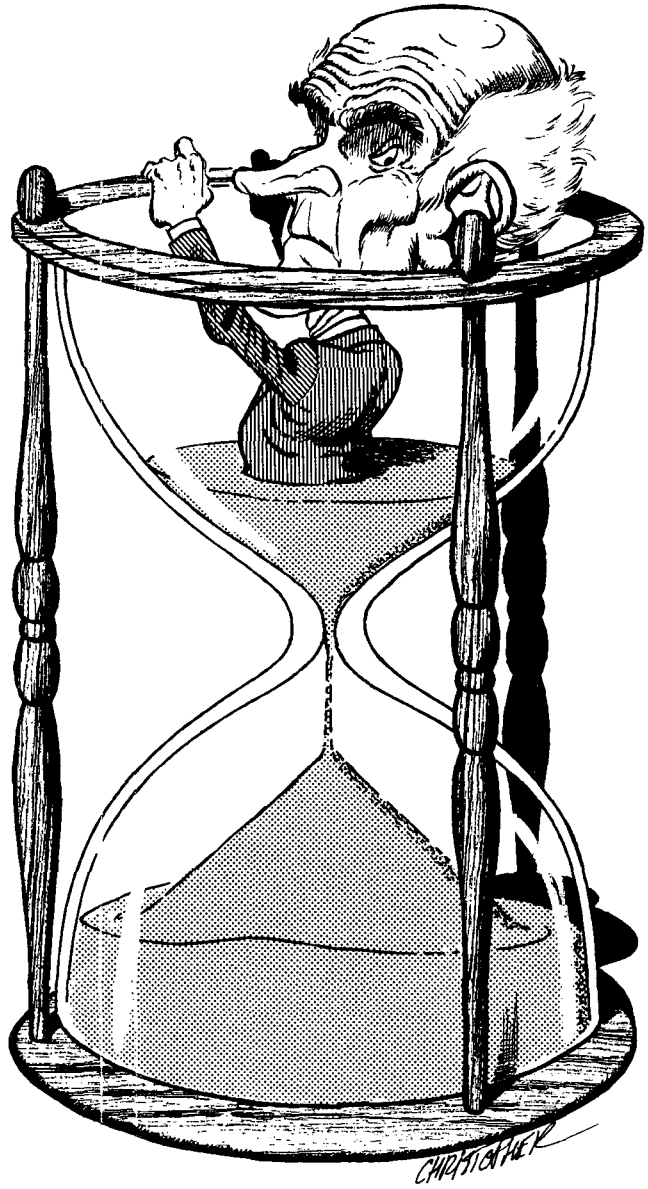

HAS TIME RUN OUT FOR ALAN CRANSTON?

A FEINSTEIN CHALLENGE COULD DRASTICALLY HURT HIS CHANCES

By DAN WALTERS

Has time run out for Alan Cranston? The Republicans think so, and a line of them is already forming to go after California's senior U.S. Senator when he seeks — as he says he will — a fourth term in 1986.

And at least one Democrat seems to agree. San Francisco's Mayor Dianne Feinstein is emitting unmistakable signals that she will challenge him in the Democratic primary. Some Democrats would like to see her step back, however. Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy, for instance, who would like to run for the Senate himself but says he won't confront Cranston, believes that a primary battle among Democrats could assure victory for a Republican.

But Clint Reilly, the San Francisco political consultant who is openly exploring the senatorial territory for Feinstein, disagrees. "I think Cranston's got some real problems . . . I just don't think the guy is fundamentally electable," he says. According to Reilly, Cranston's drawbacks are his age (he'll be 71 in June 1985) and a record out of step with California's current conservative mood.

But hasn't Cranston already won three terms in the Senate as a liberal Democrat? Yes — and no.

His three victories — beginning in 1968 — have been against three right-leaning Republicans, none of whom could unify the GOP behind them. (The three were the late Max Rafferty, then-State Superintendent of Public Instruction; H.L. Richardson, then as now a Republican state senator; and Paul Gann, co-author of Proposition 13.) Meanwhile, Cranston carefully cultivated California's Republican-leaning but non-ideological business leaders and portrayed himself as a moderate on many issues.

Now, however, Cranston is coming off of a rather odd presidential campaign in which he generated almost no national interest in himself — "Even less than Jerry Brown," as one Democratic insider put it — but adopted stridently liberal positions that, if nothing else, undercut his moderate image in California. Thus, Republicans believe, Cranston has listed too far to port to please voters. As a result, as many as a dozen would-be Republican challengers are gearing up for 1986.

There's always the chance that Republicans will shoot themselves in the foot again by nominating an unelectable ideologue. (Economist Arthur Laffer is among the rightists bidding for the honor of righteous defeat.) But the more likely prospect is that the GOP — which in 1982 rejected right-wingers and won with U.S. Senator Pete Wilson and Governor George Deukmejian — will choose someone more salable than Rafferty, Richardson, Gann or Laffer. And that would give Cranston's electability its first serious test at a time when his own negative factors, both ideological and chronological, are reaching a peak.

The 1986 senatorial shootout also takes on serious national overtones when the arithmetic of the GOP-controlled Senate is calculated. Democrats believe that their best shot at recapturing the upper House will be in 1986. Since control could hinge on what happens in California, both parties may commit heavy financial resources here.

A political oddity

Alan Cranston has always been something of a political oddity. Known in the 1950s as a firebrand liberal — he helped co-found the left-leaning California Democratic Council — Cranston was swept into state office in the 1958 Democratic landslide and served two terms as state con-

Dan Walters writes a political column for The Sacramento Bee.

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troller, losing to GOP Assemblyman Houston Flournoy during the Ronald Reagan-led Republican sweep of 1966.

Two years later, the one-time foreign correspondent and real estate businessman ran for the U.S. Senate and had the good fortune to face Rafferty, the brashly outspoken populist-conservative school superintendent who had defeated moderate Republican Senator Thomas Kuchel in the GOP primary.

It was during those 1960s political wars that two Alan Cranstons began to emerge. First, there was the public Cranston — the high-minded, White Hat liberal. Behind the scenes, however, there was another Cranston — the pragmatic politician who engaged in a brand of hardball politics that contrasted sharply with his self-created public image.

The actions of that "other Cranston" were chronicled in a 1983 article by Carl Cannon, Washington correspondent for Knight-Ridder Newspapers. Cannon, in one of the few negative publicity pieces of Cranston's career, revealed a series of incidents, including one in 1964 in which Controller Cranston offered a "sexually explicit, highly compromising photograph of a potential Democratic opponent" to Tom Braden, then-editor of the *Oceanside Blade-Tribune* and now a nationally syndicated columnist. According to Cannon's article, Braden confirmed that Cranston offered the photo. But the former editor said he never considered publishing it or writing about it because of the potential damage to its still-unnamed subject. "I considered it slime," Cannon quoted Braden.

Cranston denied showing Braden the photo. "Maybe somebody on my staff did it," Cannon quoted the senator as saying.

Cannon's article cited not only the Braden incident but others in which Cranston distorted the positions and records of political foes: a 1966 paper labeling Ronald Reagan as "a front man" for the John Birch Society although Reagan had denounced the right-wing organization's founder, Robert Welch; 1983 allegations that Kenneth Adelman, President Reagan's nominee as chief arms-control negotiator, supported the use of nuclear weapons by South Africa to wipe out its black population when, in fact, Adelman had expressed concern about South Africa's achieving nuclear weaponry; a "scathing and passionate" 1983 letter to the Senate Judiciary Committee alleging that Alameda County Superior Court Judge John P. Vukasin Jr. — under consideration for a federal judgeship — was "manifestly unfit" because he was prejudiced against women and minorities, even though evidence supplied to the committee indicated the contrary. Later, after Vukasin was confirmed, Cranston conceded that his opposition had been political.

In addition to incidents recounted in the Cannon article, Cranston practiced hardball politics on his Republican challengers in 1974 and 1980, even though every state poll gave him wide leads both years. In 1980, for example, Cranston produced evidence that challenger Paul Gann had gone bankrupt many years before, and then made the bankruptcy an important part of his campaign.

While focusing on an opponent's negatives, Cranston has been coldly calculating in the presentation of his own senatorial record — aided by the fact that few Washington-based reporters for California newspapers have been willing to go beyond his official speeches and statements. The image that those official statements create is of a man preoccupied by the weighty matters of international relations and disarmament.

Bread-and-butter work

But although Cranston has been involved heavily in those areas, he also has done bread-and-butter work for some of California's most powerful economic interests. His interest in disarmament, for example, has not prevented him from touting a weapons program built in California — the B-1 bomber. Nor has his interest in tax reform prevented him from promoting more liberal capital-gains treatment on behalf of the real estate industry — of which he once was a part. And when California savings-and-loan executives needed someone to carry legislation in 1979 to bar their customers from having interest-bearing checking accounts, Cranston was their man.

All of those efforts meant that when re-election campaigns rolled around, pragmatic-minded aerospace and finance-industry executives supported Cranston with their checkbooks and, more important, cut off his right-wing challengers from the financial backing needed for a serious statewide campaign.

At the same time, however, Cranston always ran scared. He worried in 1980, for example, that the well-publicized efforts of the National Conservative Political Action Committee to unseat liberal Democratic senators would reach into California. As it turned out, the conservatives ousted

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enough Democrats in other Western states to hand control of the Senate to Republicans, leaving Cranston to coast to an easy reelection victory over Paul Gann.

Cranston was worried enough in 1980, however, that he toned down his advocacy of disarmament and accommodation with the Soviets. In 1979 Cranston had criticized then-President Jimmy Carter's defense budget, calling for the elimination of one aircraft carrier and other cuts and suggesting that the Carter military build-up stemmed from an unreasonable anti-Russian paranoia.

"We should not be quite so paranoid, not quite so fearful and not succumb to a sense of inferiority every time (the Soviets) say 'boo,'" Cranston said, to criticize Carter's proposed three percent increase in defense spending.

But later that year the Soviets invaded Afghanistan and the American Embassy was seized in Iran. By early 1980 Cranston had shifted to a decidedly hawkish posture. In January 1980, speaking to the state Democratic convention, Cranston labeled the invasion of Afghanistan "the key life-or-death issue confronting us" and accused the Soviets of being "cynically opportunistic in their foreign adventurism."

But after staving off what turned out to be Gann's weak Republican challenge, Cranston, bitten by the presidential bug, decided to shoot for the 1984 presidential nomination — from the party's left extremity, especially on military and foreign affairs.

Exactly three years after he had branded the invasion of Afghanistan "the key life-or-death issue confronting us," and with the Russians still trying to subjugate the Afghans, Cranston told the state's Democratic convention (who rewarded him with a presidential endorsement) that if elected to the White House, he would immediately propose a nuclear-arms freeze to the Soviets, and he criticized President Reagan for not embracing the SALT II arms treaty — a treaty Cranston himself said had been destroyed by the invasion of Afghanistan three years earlier.

Cranston's presidential campaign was an embarrassing washout. After generating only a ripple in the New Hampshire primary last February, he pulled out and immediately declared for reelection to the Senate in 1986.

Cranston's reelection problems are several-fold: his age, his cadaverous appearance (which belies an athletic, robust good health), his shift of positions and simply the fact that he's been in office for three terms from a state that does not respect longevity in office. There's also a potential money problem — a million-dollar debt left over from his presidential campaign and a greater difficulty in raising money from California business interests now that Republicans control the Senate and business interests can turn to Republican Pete Wilson for help in Washington.

An indication of this difficulty may be found in two lists of Cranston supporters. When he was running for a third term in 1980, Cranston ballyhooed a list of California business leaders supporting his candidacy. Most of them were Republicans, including the then-president of the California Chamber of Commerce — Robert Dockson, a savings-and-loan executive. As he prepares for 1986, however, Cranston is unable to claim such support. Instead, he is promoting a list of prominent Democratic supporters, including Leo McCarthy. Assembling that list, Cranston and his aides acknowledge, was aimed at discouraging any would-be primary challengers.

Feinstein

But conspicuous by her absence is San Francisco's Mayor Feinstein, who is openly exploring a Senate bid. Cranston says "she has to be considered, among others" as a potential challenger, and Feinstein herself leaves little doubt that she wants to run for statewide office in 1986, capitalizing on the prominence she achieved this year as a potential vice-presidential nominee and given that she can't seek reelection in San Francisco when her term expires in 1987.

Feinstein says she will "move around the state, to speak, to become involved in some statewide issues" and will travel around the country as well, testing the water for a bid for senator or governor in 1986.

Clint Reilly, her chief political adviser, is even less coy. Cranston, Reilly contends, hurt himself with his aggressively liberal presidential campaign, while Feinstein's image was shaped by her vice-presidential potential and by her hosting of the Democratic convention. "The question is who is electable," Reilly says. "After three terms, he has a lot of liabilities."

"Whether or not Cranston can be defeated by Dianne is another question," Reilly concedes, but suggests that Feinstein could have appeal for younger voters and women that Cranston lacks. And, noting that Gary Hart won the state's presidential primary, Reilly calls her a "sort of 'Gary Hart' candidate (that) makes Cranston the old-style Democrat with old ideas." Feinstein's running for governor is also a possibility. But Reilly says that is secondary and "the race that's being looked at is Cranston." Cranston's list of Democratic supporters notwithstanding, Reilly contends, "Silently, there's a lot of people who hope she'll make the race because they think Cranston's not going to win."

Conversations with other Democratic leaders confirm a certain amount of unease about Cranston's reelection prospects, especially if Republicans choose a challenger out of the Wilson-Deukmejian mold who can unify Republicans and attract Democratic moderates and conservatives.

GOP challenges

Several GOP congressmen, including Ed Zschau, Jerry Lewis, Dan Lungren, William Dannemeyer and Bobbi Fiedler have also expressed varying degrees of interest. However, all but Fiedler, who achieved fame as leader of the anti-busing movement in Los Angeles, suffer from a lack of statewide name identity.

Economist Laffer, who's trying to boost his name-recognition as a proponent of tax cuts, is interested. So is Los Angeles County Supervisor Mike Antonovich. State Senator Ed Davis, the former Los Angeles chief of police, is an all-but-declared candidate, having moved into the political middle with such actions as voting for the gay rights bill this year. And some Republicans are trying to persuade actor Charlton Heston — who says he's not interested in a political career — to make the run. Another state senator, Ken Maddy of Fresno, also is considered an attractive potential Cranston challenger, but Maddy — rich, photogenic and articulate — indicates that he's leaning toward running for lieutenant governor. Another Republican who recently announced that he is "exploring" a Cranston challenge is Assemblyman Robert Naylor of Menlo Park, who resigned as Assembly minority leader after the November election to pursue Cranston. Still another potential candidate is former Senate Minority Leader William Campbell of Hacienda Heights (see "Lining up to shoot down Cranston," *CJ*, December 1983).

Cranston partisans privately rate Maddy as the most dangerous challenger but also fear Davis, Fiedler and Heston. They believe Cranston could defeat any of the others. And, finally, Democratic Congressman George Miller has indicated that if Cranston looks weak, he — Miller — might jump into the Democratic primary.

The key to Cranston's future may be what statewide polls say about his standing early next year. If he looks weak, not only will Republicans step up their efforts but some Democrats may rethink their positions, too. Nothing excites political piranhas like the smell of blood.

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Who does what for whom and where

By GALE COOK

A splendid economic recovery has occurred in the office of Governor George Deukmejian, affecting everybody but the governor himself. The more than 80 men and women of Deukmejian's staff are being paid generously these days, at least by public-salary standards. This little boom in pay scales in the corner office is due less to improvement in the economy than to the departure of former Governor Jerry Brown, well-known for his pinch-penny attitude toward the people who worked for him.

Assemblyman Gray Davis, Brown's chief of staff for seven years, recalls that the day he went to work in the governor's office he was informed that his pay would be seven percent *less* than that of his predecessor in the administration of former Governor Ronald Reagan. The same reduction applied across the board in Brown's office.

"We were expected to be inspired by Democratic public service rather than attracted by salaries," Davis said, seeming to suggest that Republicans may be more pragmatic than Democrats.

Deukmejian too believes in the inspiration of public service, but he thinks executives in his administration should be paid well — not as highly as they might be in private business, but within hailing distance.

When Davis left Brown's rockpile in October 1981 to run for the Assembly, he was being paid $54,552 a year. Steven A. Merksamer, Deukmejian's chief of staff, started in January 1983 at $63,623 and now gets $78,663 — the highest salary paid to anyone on the Republican governor's payroll. Merksamer notes, however, that he would be earning more had he gone into the family's jewelry business. (See "A contented Steve Merksamer," *CJ*, August 1983).

Merksamer, 37 and a former special assistant attorney general under Deukmejian, makes $29,563 more than his boss whose statutory pay remains $49,100 per year. The governor's salary has not changed since 1967. Jerry Brown refused to allow it to be raised. In 1983 Deukmejian signed a bill that raised the governor's salary to $85,000, but it cannot take effect during the incumbent's present term. So Deukmejian will have to wait until January 1987 for his pay raise, assuming he is re-elected in 1986.

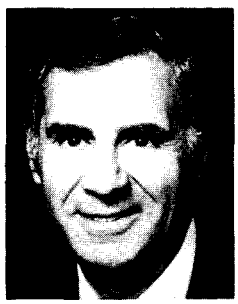
Other salaries

The pay-raise bill also helped break loose other salaries in the governor's office. That bill, besides raising the salary of the governor, increased those of state constitutional officers, legislators (from $28,110 to $33,732 this month) and, important from Deukmejian's standpoint, those of appointed state agency and department heads. With the salaries of cabinet members such as Health and Welfare Agency Secretary David Swoap increased from $63,624 to $78,663, higher pay for the governor's personal staff was authorized.

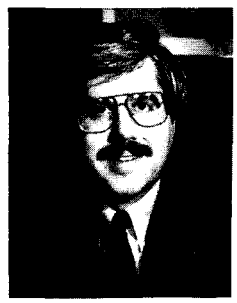
Gale Cook is Capitol Bureau chief for the San Francisco Examiner.

Below Merksamer, who has organized the office with civil service-like steps, are eight executives — all men — who are paid $73,780 a year. They are the heads of key departments in the governor's crowded compound on the first floor of the Capitol annex. These eight and a handful of others are the "senior staff" — the chiefs who meet each weekday morning at nine o'clock to examine the day's agenda and make things work for Deukmejian. These are the eight key units:

LEGISLATIVE: Rod Blonien, the chief, is called the "legislative secretary." Read that "lobbyist for the governor." Blonien, 38, was legislative liaison for Attorney General Deukmejian and before that was a lobbyist for the California Peace Officers Association. To help him advocate the administration's view in the Legislature, Blonien has three deputies — Allan Zaremberg, Maureen Higgins, and G. Mitchell Wilk — each paid $52,080. The deputies handle assigned subjects like health and welfare, education, corrections and environment. Jerry Brown's lobbyists were simply assigned to the Assembly or Senate. Blonien also has a civil service deputy, lawyer Bob Williams, 56, who has been in that office 21 years, possesses an encyclopedic memory, manages bill traffic, and is paid $63,944. Brown's last legislative secretary, Jim Neff, was paid $49,620 — $24,160 less than Blonien. Neff has gone to the greener fields of private lobbying.


DEUKMEJIAN

BLONIEN


MERKSAMER

PRESS: Like Blonien, Press Secretary Larry L. Thomas, 37, moved up to the $73,780 level from a starting salary of $54,552 in January 1983 when he left the Bechtel Corporation to join Deukmejian (see "Reports of War," *CJ*, August 1984). One of Brown's last press secretaries, Bobbie Metzger, was paid $48,000. She now does press for Assembly Speaker Willie Brown. Only Thomas and Merksamer can speak for Deukmejian. Thomas, who does not hesitate to call his work "news management," has two deputies, Bob Taylor, a former *Sacramento Union* reporter, and Kevin Brett, who was press secretary during Deukmejian's election campaign. Taylor is paid $46,920, Brett $41,208.

APPOINTMENTS: Marvin Baxter, 44 and a former Fresno attorney, is the governor's $73,780 appointments secretary — the man who supervises applications and background research for 900 to 1000 appointments that Deukmejian makes each year to the judiciary, state boards, commissions and other posts. Baxter does the work-up on

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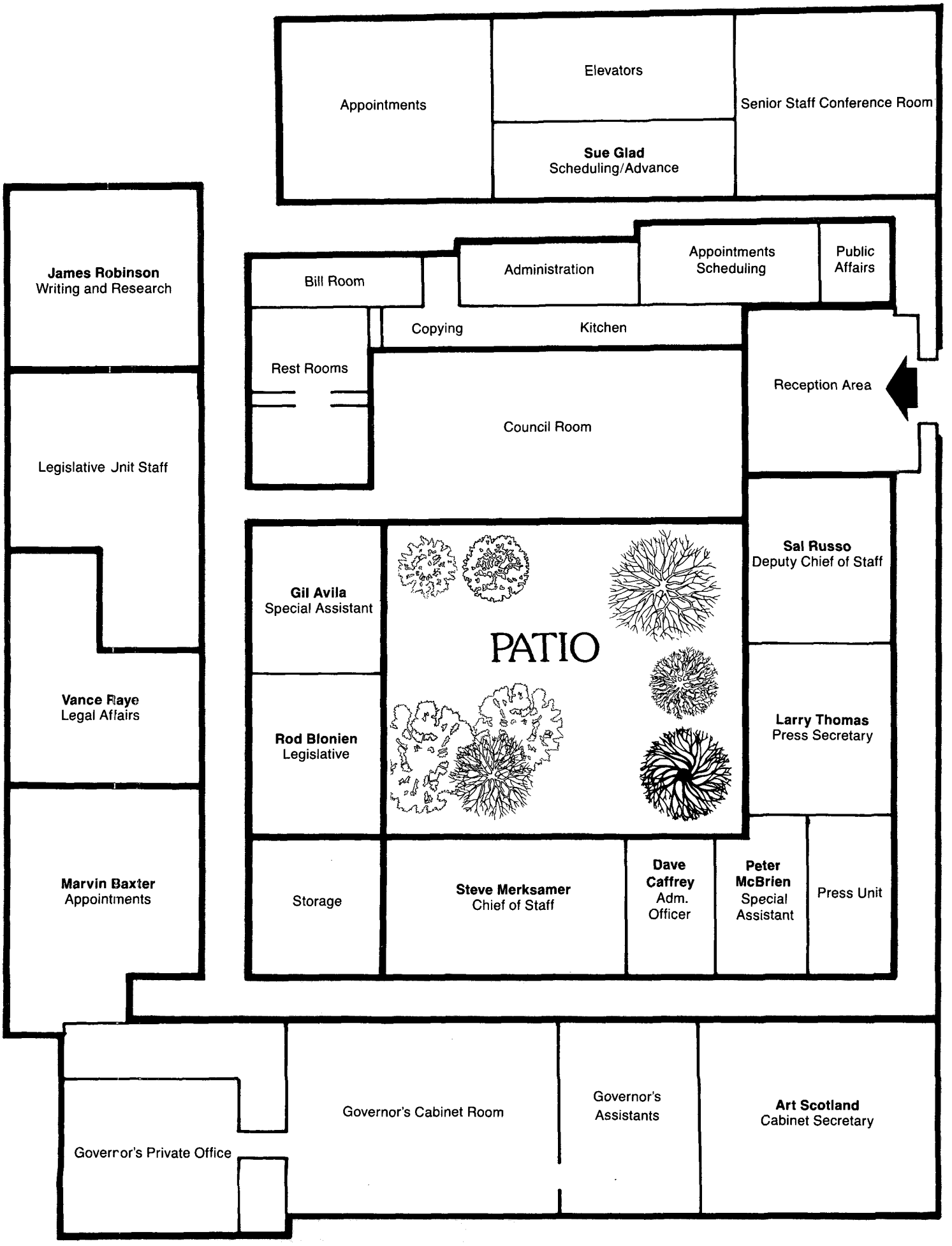

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most of the judicial appointments. Boards, commission and staff appointments are handled chiefly by three assistants: Tim Flanigan, paid $56,640; Diana Marshall, $41,208; and Teri Smith, $31,080.

CONSTITUENT AFFAIRS: Also in the highly-paid senior staff group, attorney Peter McBrien, 39, is special advisor on constituent affairs. Another transferee from Deukmejian's reign at the Justice Department, his main job is supervising the correspondence unit, where a force of 17 clerical employees under Cheryl Goble ($37,968) responds to mail and telephone calls the governor's office receives from the public. When a flood of mail and calls arrives on an issue — for instance, the "gay rights" bill that Deukmejian vetoed — McBrien drafts the appropriate response to be given by phone or letter. That job fell to McBrien when Doug Watts, a former campaign consultant quit as Deukmejian's director of public affairs to join President Ronald Reagan's campaign staff.

LEGAL AFFAIRS: Another member of the $73,780 club

THOMAS

BAXTER

McBRIEN

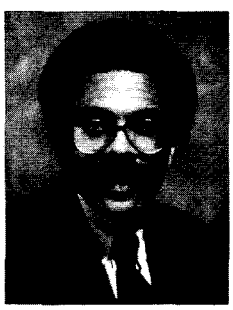
is Vance Raye, 38, the legal affairs secretary who is, in short, the governor's lawyer. He is another alumnus of the attorney general's office.

RESEARCH DIRECTOR: Next time Deukmejian gives a speech, you will hear words written by Jim Robinson, 30, the youngest member of the top-salary group. He came to the governor's office from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. He has a staff of four.

CABINET SECRETARY: Art Scotland, 38, a lawyer from the attorney general's office, prepares the agenda for bi-weekly meetings of Deukmejian's 10-member cabinet. Its members are Merksamer, Finance Director Jesse Huff and the six agency secretaries. Jerry Brown had no cabinet secretary because there were no cabinet meetings.

ADMINISTRATION: David Caffrey, 36, might be called the comptroller of the governor's office. He pays bills, sees that the office stays within its budget and deals with staff employees. He was chief of administration in the attorney general's office under Deukmejian.

Below the circle of eight are several other important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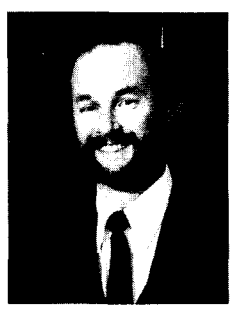
SCOTLAND

administration staffers who are paid somewhat less. At the top of this group is William Cunningham, 58, Deukmejian's education adviser, who was long the executive director of the California Association of School Administrators. His salary is $62,743.

Huston Carlyle, 37, a former assistant city attorney of Burbank, runs the governor's Office of Planning and Research, a gubernatorial think-tank that may also serve as a haven for political refugees. With a staff of 25, Carlyle also serves as Deukmejian's liaison with clients and counties. His salary is $60,725, the same amount drawn by Gil

CAFFREY

CUNNINGHAM

CARLYLE

Avila, a former advertising executive who is the governor's special advisor on Hispanic matters.

Suzanne Glad, 55, is Deukmejian's scheduling secretary. She sometimes fields as many as 70 requests a day for appearances by the governor or audiences with him. She is paid $46,920. If the governor issues a proclamation or makes a radio appeal for the United Way, that is probably the work of Greg Kahwajian, 26, the public affairs director, who inherited that work from the departing Watts. Kahwajian's salary is $41,208.

The person most frequently encountered by visitors to Governor Deukmejian's office is Jackie Habecker, the public office receptionist. She has been in that position since 1959 when Edmund G. "Pat" Brown was beginning his first

AVILA

GLAD

HABECKER

term as governor. Habecker was paid $3900 a year then. Her salary today, with an eight percent increase recently granted to all state employees including the governor's staff, is $29,532.

In all, the governor's staff — at the end of last fiscal year — numbered 82 full-time employees and earned about $3.4 million a year. It was mostly female (59) and most of them were clerical. Ethnically, there were 66 whites, four blacks, two Asians, six Hispanics, two Pacific Islanders and two American Indians.

Considering that the average factory worker in California earns about $20,000 a year, many on the governor's staff aren't doing badly. However, as Merksamer notes, they still don't get as much as many executives in the private sector. Merksamer points out, for instance, that Harry Hufford recently quit his $95,000-a-year job as chief administrative officer of Los Angeles County to accept a higher-paid managerial position with a law firm. Also, Merksamer adds, a senior deputy district attorney in Los Angeles County makes $71,152 a year.

He might also have added that San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein is paid $94,000 a year, $9000 more than the governor will receive under the new schedule in 1987. Mayor Tom Bradley makes slightly less at $80,708.

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(A survey of leading events over the past 30 days)

NEW GANN INITIATIVE WITHDRAWN

(October 12th): Paul Gann was given the go-ahead to circulate petitions for a constitutional amendment to bring back a part-time Legislature. But a spokesman for Gann said the initiative proposal would be withdrawn, rewritten and resubmitted at a later date. If passed by voters, the proposal would have limited legislative sessions to 120 days in odd-numbered years and budget sessions to 30 days in even-numbered years. The initiative also would have set lawmakers' salaries at $2000 per year and limited legislative service to eight consecutive years.

ALRB SET BACK

(October 14th): The Agricultural Labor Relations Board — still controlled by a Jerry Brown-appointed majority — lost a round in its protracted turf battle with ALRB General Counsel David Stirling, a Deukmejian appointee. The action occurred when a Sacramento Superior Court issued a temporary restraining order to prevent the board from intervening in the investigation of a back-pay case. Stirling argued that the board's action infringed on his authority. A full hearing is slated later this month.

FPPC SUES SAN DIEGO MAYOR

(October 15th): The Fair Political Practices Commission filed a $1.2 million lawsuit against San Diego Mayor Roger Hedgecock and five political associates, accusing them of 400 violations of state campaign regulations. In September Hedgecock was indicted on 15 counts of alleged conspiracy and perjury in connection with the collapse of J. David Dominelli's financial empire. If found guilty in the FPPC suit, Hedgecock faces a maximum of $974,662 in civil penalties. (Despite his legal problems, Hedgecock was re-elected November 6th.)

FIREBOMB HITS CAPITOL

(October 17th): A hooded intruder threw a firebomb through a window of the historic Capitol about 8:30 p.m., inflicting $30,000 worth of damage on the restored governor's office. Most of the damage was done by the building's sprinkler system which quickly extinguished the fire but then rained down for 20 minutes while firemen searched for the shut-off valve.

PRISON OFFICIALS IN CONTEMPT OF COURT

(October 18th): Two state prison officials were held in contempt of court by a federal judge for failing to promptly end double-celling in solitary confinement cells at Folsom Prison. Although prison officials say that double-celling has ended, District Judge Stanley Weigel issued the citation against former warden Paul Morris, now state deputy director of institutions, and Folsom's current warden, Joseph Campoy, because it took nearly a year to comply with his original order, issued in August 1983. Neither official was fined, but Weigel indicated he would levy $500-a-day fines against each if conditions at Folsom do not improve to his satisfaction.

GANN TAKES LEGISLATURE TO COURT

(October 23rd): Frustrated by the Legislature's failure to fully implement his legislative-reform initiative (Proposition 24), Paul Gann filed suit in Sacramento County Superior Court to force compliance. The measure, approved by voters in June, requires the Legislature to reduce spending on itself and change its operating rules to give more clout to the minority party, in this case Republicans. This is the second court challenge for Proposition 24, the first having been in June when Democrats tried to get the state Supreme Court to declare the measure unconstitutional. The Court refused for technical reasons but did not rule on the proposition's merits.

STATE POLICE CHIEF RESIGNS

(October 31st): John Norton resigned as head of the State Police to become chief of police for Parkersburg, West Virginia. Norton left Sacramento for Parkersburg in October amid rumors that he was about to be fired by his boss, General Services chief W. J. "Tony" Anthony. Both Anthony and Norton refused to discuss reasons for the resignation, however.

SHOESHINE STAND TO STAY

(October 31st): Shoeshine-stand operator Benjamin Harrison Toney, whose place of business is just inside the Capitol's south entrance, signed a contract with the state that will allow him to remain until at least December 31, 1985. The 64-year-old Toney had been ordered out of the Capitol last month by Assemblyman Louis Papan, chairman of the Legislature's Joint Rules Committee (see Capitol Review, November 1984) but the governor and others intervened.

DEATH PENALTY SETBACK

(November 1st): The California Supreme Court, in a decision affecting some 25 death-row inmates, declared unconstitutional a portion of the 1978 death-penalty initiative that requires judges to tell juries of the governor's power to commute a sentence of life-without-parole. The court indicated that the instruction might encourage death sentences because jurors were not also told that the governor could commute a death sentence as well. The Court's lone dissenter in the 6-1 decision, Deukmejian-appointee Malcolm Lucas, argued that a "harmless" instruction did not warrant reversing the sentences.

"PUPPY RANCH" DROPPED

(November 1st): The Department of Corrections abandoned a plan to have prison inmates raise 2000 puppies a year for laboratory research — only one day after it had been revealed in *The Los Angeles Times*. The plan, labeled a "puppy ranch" by *The Times*, generated an immediate storm of public outcry. Senate President pro Tem David Roberti, a Los Angeles Democrat and leader of the animal-rights movement, called it "absurd." Corrections had been exploring the plan as one way to put prisoners to work at its medium-security facility at Avenal in Kings County.

Continued on next page

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MAILER PRODUCES $17,000 MISTAKE

(November 1st): The Associated Press reported that a 91-year-old Los Angeles woman, Bessie McMullin, mistook a pro-Proposition 36 mailer for her property tax bill and mailed the initiative's sponsor — Howard Jarvis — $17,004.77. Jarvis' campaign subsequently returned the money. The mailer, marked "Urgent — 2nd Notice," ostensibly warned recipients about the threat of higher property taxes. But in late October a Marin County judge called it "untrue and deceptive" and ordered a halt to its distribution.

NOLAN REPLACES NAYLOR

(November 8th): Assembly unanimously elected Pat Nolan of Glendale to lead their 33-member caucus for the coming legislative session. Nolan replaces Robert Naylor of Menlo Park, who stepped down late last month after serving since 1982. Nolan, first elected to the Assembly in 1978, is a conservative who nearly ousted Naylor earlier this year. Other members of his leadership team include Gerald Felando of San Pedro as caucus chair, Larry Stirling of San Diego as vice-chair and freshman Gil Ferguson of Newport Beach as caucus secretary.

FIREWORKS TYCOON INDICTED

(November 8th): Orange County fireworks magnate W. Patrick Moriarty, 53, was indicted on 18 counts of fraud and corruption in connection with the licensing of a poker club. Four former officials of the City of Commerce and a Las Vegas gambling figure were also indicted. In the past, Moriarty has been linked with three prominent legislators: former Democratic Assemblyman Bruce Young of Cerritos, Democratic Assemblyman Mike Roos of Los Angeles and Republican state Senator H. L. Richardson of Arcadia — all of whom helped push through a controversial 1982 bill that would have prevented local governments from banning the sale of Moriarty-made fireworks. It was eventually vetoed by former Governor Jerry Brown.

INCUMBENTS TRIUMPH

(November 6th): President Ronald Reagan scored a 1.5-million-vote, home-state victory over challenger Walter Mondale, as incumbents triumphed across the board in California. Snug in gerrymandered districts, all but two of 140 lawmakers were reelected to the Assembly, state Senate and Congress — most by margins of two-to-one. The losers were Ray Johnson in the 1st Senate and Jerry Patterson in the 38th Congressional districts. On the proposition front, voters approved a state lottery, $1.65 billion worth of bond issues and an end to the bilingual ballot but rejected the governor's proposed reapportionment commission, Howard Jarvis' "Save 13" measure and Ross Johnson's efforts to limit campaign contributions and cut state spending for welfare and Medi-Cal (for a detailed analysis of election results, see the special section in this issue).

DEMOCRATS RETAIN SPEAKER BROWN

(November 7th): The Assembly's Democratic caucus agreed unanimously to support Willie Brown for another term as Assembly speaker, thus assuring his reelection when the Legislature reconvenes early this month. It was widely believed that Brown's days as speaker would have been numbered had California Democrats fared poorly on election day. But every incumbent Democrat was reelected and voters rejected the governor's reapportionment initiative, which would have been extremely dangerous to Democrats' political health.

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ROSTRUM

GOP Convention

In "Vignettes from the Republican Convention" (*CJ*, October 1984), Tony Quinn reported, "Virtually every minority appointee in the administration was there . . . the delegation rang with names like Kien Nhieu Do, Lisa Avila-Valencia and Zavier Hermosillo." This statement is highly inaccurate. For example, three black appointees were delegates to the convention — and 74 other black Deukmejian appointees remained in California. Quinn's poor arithmetic misleads his readers. Haven't we gone beyond that in California and come to agree that a competent individual doesn't have to be named Chauncey Smythe III? Haven't we learned how truly unremarkable it is that people with names like Louis Carter, P. Cecilio Fontanoza and Ruth Essengian can be prominent contributors to the general welfare? I find it extremely dismaying that a reporter from so respectable a publication can still find surprise and newsworthiness in the shade of a person's skin pigmentation or the number of syllables in his name.

JAMES L. FLOURNOY
Deputy Director
Department of Motor Vehicles, Sacramento

Sunne McPeak

The article on Sunne Wright McPeak (October 1984) seemed to be damning with faint praise, characterizing her as a "deft strategist with a knack for organizing" . . . who "keeps a high profile" — as if that was an inappropriate approach to serving in public office. Elliot Diringer seems to condemn McPeak by saying "but some say she's out for herself" as if most elected officials do not consider how their actions affect their political careers.

As a long-time *California Journal* reader, I do not recall ever reading where elected officials have been characterized negatively for aggressively advocating issues in which they believe because they may be out for themselves. Shouldn't the focus be on McPeak's effectiveness on issues that matter to her district and on her support for other elected officials who share her views? Over the past seven years, I have seen her go out of her way to write a check, to offer quiet advice, or to help people at crucial times in their political careers. Many of these acts have been conducted away from the public limelight.

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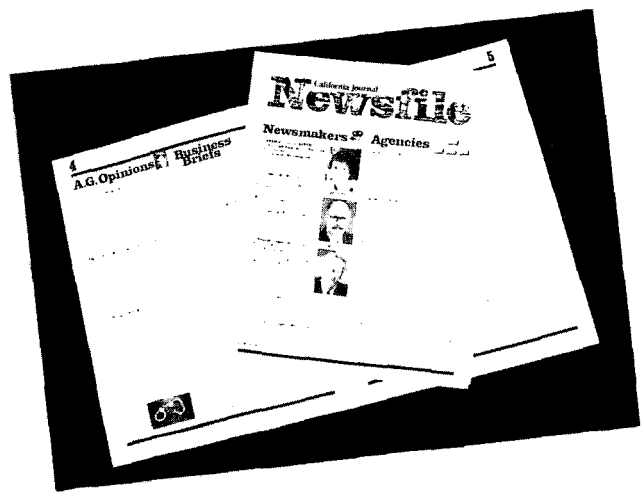

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Perspective from
WASHINGTON
By Leo Rennert

California winners

Poring over the election returns, Republican National Chairman Frank Fahrenkopf Jr. and his Democratic counterpart, Charles Manatt, disagreed about almost everything as they put their own spin on the significance of the voters' verdict. The GOP chief saw President Reagan's landslide victory as a clean mandate for his program and a signal that the nation is in the grip of an enduring conservative tide. Manatt viewed the results as a personal triumph for Reagan — with Democrats in fine shape for 1986 and 1988. Widespread ticket-splitting, he said, left Reagan without a clear mandate and dashed GOP hopes for a historic party realignment. Amid these predictable disagreements, there was one point on which both party chairmen did come together — the crucial role played by reapportionment in California and a few other states in denying Reagan working control of the House of Representatives.

TO REVIVE THE CONSERVATIVE COALITION that pushed through his landmark tax and budget proposals in 1981, Reagan needed to regain the 26 House seats picked up by Democrats in 1982. When the dust settled, Republicans fell about 50 percent short of that objective — even with a much bigger Reagan landslide than in 1980. There were many reasons for the GOP's disappointing performance, including Reagan's too-little, too-late effort to help Republicans in close congressional contests. But, in their post-mortems, both Fahrenkopf and Manatt singled out Democratic success with reapportionment after the 1980 census as a major factor behind the president's inability to produce a cooperative Congress. Each paid tribute to the fine hand of the late San Francisco Congressman Phil Burton in preventing the GOP from sweeping all the boards.

Fahrenkopf noted that Burton's controversial redistricting plan cost Republicans six seats in 1982, when Reagan's effective control of the lower chamber — with help from Southern Democratic "Boll Weevils" — came to an end. The 1982 elections gave Democrats lopsided 28-17 control of the California delegation. This time, while Reagan carried his homestate by a huge margin, Republicans were powerless to undo Burton's handiwork. With 45 seats up for grabs, only one changed hands as former Congressman Bob Dornan, a flamboyant conservative, beat Democratic incumbent Jerry Patterson in Orange County. Democrats George Brown of Riverside and Vic Fazio of West Sacramento easily survived Republican challenges. In fact, virtually all incumbents on both sides of the aisle won by handsome majorities — just as Burton intended when he told his colleagues three years ago that, with their new district lines, they would be as safe as if they were in their "mother's arms."

With the White House eager to strengthen Reagan's influence in the House, every seat that possibly could be pried loose from Democratic control took on exceptional importance. With so much at stake, Burton's redistricting legacy turned into a formidable handicap for Reagan. Even from the grave, he kept five seats out of the president's reach. Said Fahrenkopf: "We're still laboring under the effect of reapportionment." Manatt recalled how Republicans, after the 1980 census, boasted that redistricting would work in their favor because of major population shifts toward the conservative Sun Belt and the GOP's superior financial resources and more sophisticated computers. Why didn't it pan out? Democrats, said Manatt, were saved by "God, Phil Burton and federal courts" that upheld their redistricting plans.

Thus, two Californians were big winners on November 6th — Ronald Reagan and Phil Burton. The president's misfortune was that Burton's ghost played against the Gipper. Aside from his plan's national impact and its success in continuing solid Democratic control of the delegation, Burton scored another posthumous victory with the defeat of Proposition 39 — Governor Deukmejian's initiative to take reapportionment out of the hands of the Democratic-controlled Legislature and entrust it to a bipartisan commission of retired state appellate-court judges. This marked the second time that California voters rejected GOP-led efforts to demolish Burton's work. Wounds opened by the bloody and expensive fight over Proposition 39 will be slow to heal. Democrats in the congressional delegation will long remember how the governor threatened their political survival. Some already are eager to pay him back in 1986.

IN THE MEANTIME, the two leading figures in the delegation — Democrats Tony Coelho of Merced and Henry Waxman of West Los Angeles — emerged with new laurels from the 1984 campaign. As chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, Coelho received major credit for keeping his party's losses in the House to a minimum. He was immediately mentioned as a possible successor to fellow Californian Manatt as national party chairman. Alternatively, he's a hot prospect to move up the leadership ladder when Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. retires in 1986. Coelho raised millions of dollars to protect vulnerable Democratic incumbents and muscled business groups to put more of their chips on Democrats already in the House than on Republicans trying to get in. His exertions proved that the power of congressional incumbency and lots of interest-group money can be powerful weapons against the coattails of a supremely popular president. Waxman also benefited from his special fund-raising talents as his West Los Angeles political organization played a leading role in mustering Democratic opposition to Proposition 39. With Burton gone, Coelho and Waxman continue to jocky for primacy in the delegation. Each gained strength by saving the political scalps of grateful colleagues.

On the Republican side of the delegation, Dornan's return promises more excitement and fireworks. Never a shrinking violet, Dornan has been itching to get back on the national scene to resume his crusades in support of the B-1 bomber, Reagan's "Star Wars" plan and a ban on abortions. Dornan dropped out in 1982 when he unsuccessfully ran for the GOP Senate nomination. But now he's back and reporters covering the delegation, hungry for dramatic copy, are all smiles.

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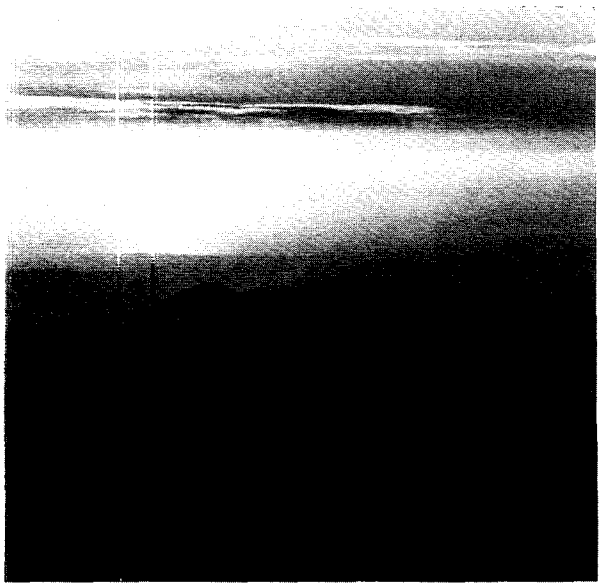

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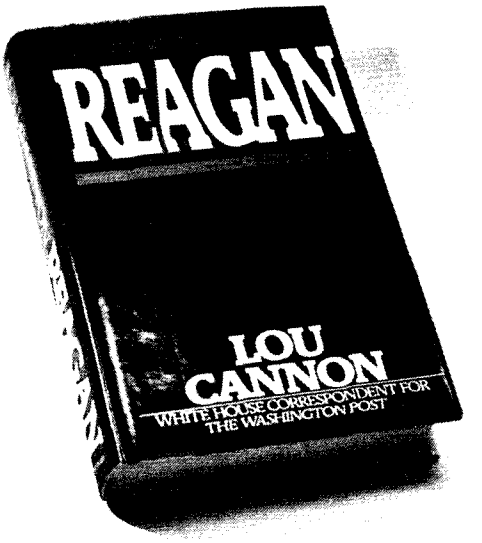

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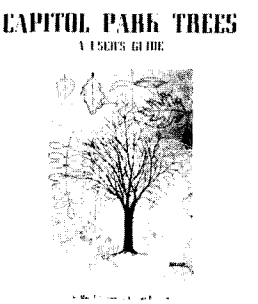

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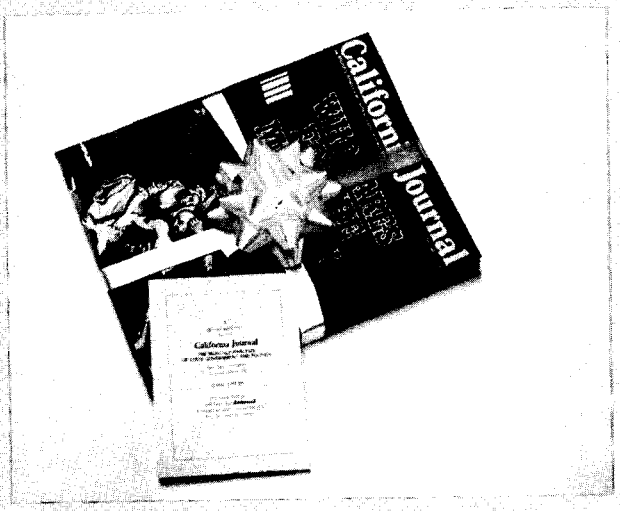

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